

NOVEMBER 26, 1984

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TIME

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TV pictures simulated. Aida photograph courtesy of San Francisco Opera.

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The questions posed can be wrenching. Do we limit access to the latest technology? Must we put a lid on all future progress?

There are no easy answers. To continue medical advances while containing costs, we must re-examine our expectations of our health care delivery system.

All hospitals cannot offer all the latest technology. That means patients may have to wait longer for certain procedures or travel farther for certain kinds of care.

Not all medical problems require every possible test or procedure. Physicians and patients sometimes will have to make choices.

Ultimately, we'll all have to decide what price we are willing to pay for the medical technology we'd like to have available.

We must seek ways to control expenses not by limiting progress, but by using costly equipment and technology wisely.

The present cost trends in our nation's 6,000 hospitals are encouraging. With help from lower inflation, the rate of increase in hospital expenses slowed from 15.8 percent in 1982 to 10.2 percent in 1983. And in the first half of 1984, the annualized rate of increase was only 4.8 percent.

As we deal with the cost pressures of advancing technology, one value must not change, however. Quality of care must not suffer. On that, hospitals stand firm.

Only by working together—hospitals, physicians, patients, business and government—can we continue our progress while keeping high quality care accessible and affordable for everyone.

If you share our concern, please share this message. Pass it along to someone who cares. And write for our latest economic data, "Hospital Trends: The Leading Indicators," to P.O. Box 3431, Dept. 301, Chicago, IL 60693.

**"Medical
technology
is outrunning
our ability
to pay for it."**

American Hospital Association



COVER: A spectacular salvage mission on the High Frontier 16

The shuttle *Discovery* brings home a pair of stray satellites and shows that NASA still has the right stuff. If Reagan gets his way, the U.S. is headed for a new era in space—Star Wars, orbiting stations, maybe even a moon colony. Commercial exploitation beckons, but the foreign competition is stiff. Critics question whether the U.S. program is going—and why. See **SPACE**.



NATION: Reagan sizes up his win as a mandate for continuity 34

As the President and his aides set about the task of writing a script for his second act in Washington, both the dramatis personae and the story line seem to have a familiar ring. ▶ The debate sharpens over how—and whether—to reform the federal income tax.

▶ Five Republican contenders stage a dogfight for the key job of Senate majority leader.



WORLD: The heartbreak of famine brings floods of relief to Ethiopia 66

In a country paralyzed by years of drought, tens of thousands of withered Ethiopians stream into refugee camps, sheltering in burrows and laying their dead to rest. As these electrifying images begin to appear, Westerners respond with record amounts of aid. But 6 million people are on the brink of starvation in what relief workers warn could be "the worst human disaster in recent history."



80 Economy & Business

A letter on American capitalism by Catholic bishops creates a furor. ▶ Safety lapses ground the largest U.S. commuter airline.

94 Sport

In a coming-out party at the Garden, the heart of the Olympic boxing team, Breland, Holyfield & Co., gently turns pro.

88 Medicine

Baby Fae dies after her battle to retain a transplanted baboon's heart. ▶ A research prize is canceled because of Nazi associations.

96 Music

Frankie Goes to Hollywood, a hot rock import from Britain, mixes dance music with political messages, glitzy fashion and low camp.

90 Press

The libel suit of Israel's Ariel Sharon against Time Inc. begins in New York City. ▶ General Westmoreland takes the stand.

105 Cinema

Supergirl and *The Terminator* offer a pair of up-to-date fantasy figures. ▶ De Niro and Streep fall in love.

92 Religion

The Church of England takes a historic vote favoring women priests. ▶ A Lutheran activist goes to jail. ▶ Bishop Tutu's new post.

108 Essay

At the sound of the beep... hang up. That is how at least some people deal with those infernal telephone-answering machines.

4 Letters
87 Milestones
95 People
100 Books

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Letters

Here We Go Again

To the Editors:

One hears that Ronald Reagan's victory involved no ideology [ELECTION '84, Nov. 19]. Yet his ideas led to prosperity and peace, two solid reasons for his 49 states-to-1 sweep. The President made several pledges in 1980 that he fulfilled, except for the budget deficit. This is another reason for the landslide.

Charles Wright
Bridgeton, N.J.

What a lesson Nov. 6 taught the Democratic Party. Perhaps the Democrats will drop the old liberal leadership that has brought them to this low level.

Rob Hartley
Montgomery, Ala.



Reagan celebrates his victory

Here we go again; another four years of our national soap opera, with Reagan playing the lead role. But how will the script end, with a whimper or a bang?

Jon Tofte
Tofte, Minn.

Now I hope we will be spared having the Carter-Mondale Administration bled for all of our ills.

Mrs. Donald R. Grimes
Bella Vista, Ark.

The Democrats insult us by saying we voted for President Reagan because of his personality and not his policies. The American people decisively rejected Jimmy Carter in 1980 and in 1984 even more overwhelmingly rejected his clone.

Jon King
Anaheim, Calif.

One-liners and platitudes do not a President make.

Warren Lavender
Yucca Valley, Calif.

The greatest minds of the 12th century ran the Mondale-Ferraro campaign.

Edgar S. Spizel
San Francisco

Geraldine Ferraro in her campaigning came across as cold and harsh, while the phony, frozen, politician-type smile of Walter Mondale turned us off. Mondale's continuing criticism of success seemed to indicate that we should be penalized for being successful and making our own way in life.

James M. Johnson
Scott Plains, N.J.

Reagan vs. Mondale. What an immoral waste of money to produce a foregone conclusion.

Jack Pettit
Los Angeles

Ferraro still emerged as a candidate for recognition as First American Woman of this century.

Ethan Grant
Salem, Ore.

The whole tone of your postelection hosanna may be wrong. The statement "For the first time in at least a dozen years, Americans were voting for rather than against" ignores many factors. The 41% who voted for Mondale were actually voting against Reagan deficits, militarism and callousness toward the poor. Conversely, those who voted for Reagan opposed a Democratic Party that they believe has lost its cohesiveness, direction and leadership.

Ian S. MacNiven
New York City

Like children, Americans follow the merry tunes of Reagan, happy to fall in line behind his winning personality, his waving of the flag and his avoidance of the serious issues facing the country. The Pied Piper has captured the hearts of the American people, but their minds are out to lunch!

David and Margaret Austin
Delavan, Wis.

I am moving to Minnesota.

Marian P. François
Cambridge, Mass.

In California at 6:45 p.m., three major network stations were clearly saying that Reagan had been re-elected. By broadcasting the returns, stations are hindering the election process and perhaps altering the outcome. There must be some steps we can take to change this situation.

Molly Barham
Sacramento

In defense of exit polling and early network projections, I consider my right to vote one of the great privileges of this democracy. The country does not profit from those who must either be begged for their vote or sheltered from early projections of the outcome in order to give us the benefit of their wisdom.

Stuart Beattie
Palo Alto, Calif.

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Letters

Modern Manners

You had the courage to mention the unthinkable: manners [LIVING, Nov. 5]. As the mother of three children, I found your story gave me the much needed support and encouragement to continue my tireless nagging.

*Beverly Anderson
Stillwater, Minn.*

In spite of the fact that people are continually looking for a change, two things will always be appreciated: a feminine woman and good manners.

*Robert Redford
Parlin, N.J.*

I thought Leonore Annenberg, President Reagan's chief of protocol, was polite and proper when she curtsied to Prince Charles in 1981. Her gesture was gracious and dignified.

*Kimberly Hendricks
Chicago*

Even though I have lived on Long Island for ten years, I still long for the polite "Yes Ma'am" and friendly "Ya'll come back" of my native Memphis. I also miss the luncheons, teas and dinner parties that never went out of style down there. There is something to be said for a place like Memphis, where people take the time to mind their manners.

*Joyce Davis Tyree
Centerport, N.Y.*

The mannerless youth of the '60s and '70s have unfortunately passed their poor behavior on to their offspring. Young people today think that "Thank you," "You are welcome" and "Excuse me" are subserviences to be avoided. This same syndrome is reflected in current advertising models. The sweet-and-lovely look is out; the tough-hooker pose with unkempt hair and sloppy clothes is in.

*Harlan G. Koch
San Francisco*

One month ago, my husband took to reciting table manners from the 1963 edition of *Amy Vanderbilt's New Complete Book of Etiquette*. Our two young sons howl with laughter when they hear how to eat bacon, chicken or spaghetti. Who knows, it just might sink in.

*Jennifer R. Grebenschikoff
Tampa*

Crime Busters

You are correct in describing President Reagan's new federal anticrime laws as historic and far reaching [LAW, Oct. 29]. But the criminal-law experts you cite, who express doubt about the act's effect on the crime rate, fail to recognize the practical significance of these reforms. The laws contain tough new measures to help fight organized crime and major

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TIME, NOVEMBER 26, 1984



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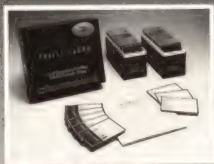
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Letters

drug trafficking, which have been estimated to cause as much as half of all street crime. The anticrime package also contains more than 50 new sections, many of which enhance local law-enforcement efforts. These include statutes providing for tough action against repeat offenders, a permanent toll-free number to help locate missing children, up to \$70 million in direct aid to effective local law-enforcement programs, surplus property to increase state prison space, procedures for police to share in forfeited criminal assets, and as much as \$100 million to help compensate victims. Perhaps most important, past experience has shown that such landmark federal legislation will serve as a model and a catalyst for powerful anticrime reform in the 50 states.

*William French Smith
Attorney General
Washington, D.C.*

Star Wars Defense

In "Star Wars: Pro and Con" [NATION, Oct. 29], you say that the best argument against President Reagan's space-based defense plan is that the system would have to be 100% effective but cannot be. The requirement of perfection is misleading. The key question: Shall we have an imperfect defense and save 90% of the U.S. from a Soviet attack or no defense and let the nation be destroyed?

*Robert Raffalli
Goleta, Calif.*

Armageddon's Arrival

Because he acknowledges the possibility of an Armageddon, President Reagan has been accused of being more willing to push the nuclear-war button [RELIGION, Nov. 5]. Believing in the inevitability of Armageddon does not automatically make one trigger-happy and dangerous. I accept the inevitability of death, yet I am not a careless driver. It does not follow that the belief in a literal Armageddon has to be linked with a reckless willingness to enter a nuclear war.

*Jack K. Arrington Jr., Executive Director
Houston Bible Association
Houston*

Liberal interpreters of the Bible are quick to take as literal those admonitions that please them, such as beating plowshares into pruning hooks and peace on earth. But these same individuals are equally quick to label as allegory and symbolism all they do not wish to face, like Armageddon and Judgment Day.

*Alice J. Kirby
Media, Pa.*

Since when does Armageddon take place in this world? To be consistently literal we would also have to expect a dragon that would gather everyone for a battle in an earthly place called Armageddon.



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Letters

Our Lord said his kingdom was not of this world (*John 18: 36*). Armageddon is therefore not a final battle in this world but a confrontation between good and evil people in the spiritual realm.

(*The Rev.*) Douglas Taylor
Bryn Athyn, Pa.

Bartender Priest

The social hideaway at St. Henry's Catholic Church [AMERICAN SCENE, Oct. 29] is meant for retirees who do not fit into Florida's singles scene or for people like me who are not looking for sex or drugs. If there were more priests like James Reynolds who cared about our loneliness, the church would not have so many apathetic Catholics who feel the church values them only for the money they put in the collection plate each week.

Martha A. Karol
Pompano Beach, Fla.

The world has enough trouble with alcoholism without the clergy leading parishioners down this road. If the Rev. Jim Reynolds wishes to be a bartender and entertain his flock, then he should give up his robes and replace them with an apron.

Ann Farrell Blunt
Creedmoor, N.C.

Publicity pays. The membership at Henry's Hideaway has soared to 700 of all faiths. The English writer Hilaire Belloc put it another way: "Wherever the Catholic sun doth shine, there is always laughter and good red wine."

(*The Rev.*) Jim Reynolds
Pompano Beach, Fla.

Drunken Dads

Your reviewer takes Susan Cheever to task [BOOKS, Oct. 29] for emphasizing "the costs rather than the achievements" of life with John Cheever—a sensitive, talented, but alcoholic father. I am the daughter of an alcoholic fundamentalist minister who gave much to the world prior to his early death. Yet I question if this world might not be better had his four children not endured the awful duplicity required in such circumstances.

Peggy Ratliff
Fort Collins, Colo.

Short Journey

A reader who described the magic of the number 40 says that Moses wandered in the wilderness for 40 days [LETTERS, Oct. 29]. The Jews never had it that easy: it was 40 years.

Sol Z. Abraham
Denver

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A Letter from the Publisher

With Ronald Reagan's re-election, the operative word in Washington, D.C., is continuity; next January marks the beginning of what could be the first two-term presidency in a generation. In *TIME*'s Washington bureau, however, Jan. 1 will mark a change of leadership: Robert Ajemian, bureau chief for the past seven years, is moving back to his home town, Boston, to direct *TIME*'s New England coverage. His replacement will be Strobe Talbott, most recently the magazine's diplomatic correspondent.

Ajemian joined Time Inc. in 1952 and rose to become assistant managing editor of *LIFE*. He came to *TIME* in 1976, and was the magazine's national political correspondent before taking over its biggest bureau. "Washington's contrasts have always been sharp and somewhat eccentric," Ajemian recalls. "The two Presidents I have covered have been opposites in styles of wielding power. Jimmy Carter was uncomfortable with it, Ronald Reagan has instinctively employed it. Power is Washington's industry, and watching its practitioners use it and project it has fascinated me for seven years."

Talbott interned in *TIME*'s London and Moscow bureaus while at Oxford on a Rhodes scholarship, then worked for Time Inc. in 1970 as editor-translator of Nikita Khrushchev's memoirs. He then served as *TIME*'s Eastern Europe correspondent, and in 1974 was about to become Moscow bureau chief. But he



Ajemian and Talbott: watching the wielders of power

was denied a visa to the Soviet capital because of his involvement with a second Khrushchev volume, and he took up residence in the U.S. capital instead. "The Soviets had inadvertently done me a great favor," he now reflects. "I had a series of extremely exciting assignments: the State Department during Henry Kissinger's tenure, then the White House and the 1976 presidential campaign, including Reagan's bid for the nomination."

When Talbott became diplomatic correspondent in 1977, he kept a close watch on Soviet affairs, and especially on U.S.-Soviet efforts to control nuclear arms. His *TIME* reporting, including six cover stories on that subject, is reflected in three books: *Endgame: The Inside Story of SALT II* (Harper & Row, 1979); *Deadly Gambits: The Reagan Administration and the Stalemate in Nuclear Arms Control* (Knopf, 1984); and *The Russians and Reagan* (Vintage Books, 1984).

Ajemian's new assignment as bureau chief in Boston is, he says, "a thrilling homecoming. I started there 36 years ago as a sportswriter and have always been lifted by its character. Its power is less clenched, less sweeping perhaps, but rich with intellect and history and strong, gentle minds."

John A. Meyers



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TIME/NOVEMBER 26, 1984

COVER STORIES

Roaming the High Frontier

After a spectacular mission, the Reaganauts aim to expand the space program



The image could have come from a once and future fantasy, yet it aired on the evening news. A U.S. astronaut, looking like a modern knight-errant in shining space suit, sallies forth into the darkness, powered by a Buck Rogers backpack called an MMU (manned maneuvering unit). Armed with a space-age lance nicknamed the stinger, he spears a stray satellite and rockets back to the mother ship. There, silhouetted against the shimmering earth some 225 miles below, he spins along at 17,500 m.p.h., shouldering his prize like a sci-fi Atlas.

two last week, rescuing another malfunctioning satellite 690 miles away (see following story). All systems A-O.K., shuttle flight 51-A sailed home at week's end to a smooth landing and a hero's welcome at Florida's Kennedy Space Center.

The mission was among the most spectacular in the 26-year history of the American space program. It was designed to demonstrate that the U.S. is once again roving the high frontier and showing plenty of the right stuff. The loudest cheerleader was President Ronald Reagan. "You demonstrated that we can work in space in ways that we never imagined were possible," he radioed the four-man, one-

multibillion-dollar undertaking remains to be seen. Critics in science and Government wonder if NASA's manned-space-flight extravaganzas are really worth the cost; to their minds, unmanned missions are cheaper and yield better results. Other critics fear that Reagan's Star Wars plan will turn space into an apocalyptic war zone. Says Astronomer Carl Sagan: "Star Wars is a fraud. It won't buy us security." Whatever the merits, future leaps into space will surely be preceded by long and hotly contested debate on earth.

As soon as Congress reconvenes this January, a host of powerful competing interests—the military, the scientific community, NASA, U.S. industry—will engage in a massive tug of war over the cost and direction of the space program. Each interest group has its own agenda. What makes this struggle possible, even inevitable, is the lack of national consensus on the purposes and scope of U.S. space exploration.

Yet even without clear agreement on long-term goals, NASA has reason to exult. Last week's riveting space salvage was "the greatest event in space since Armstrong and Aldrin landed [on the moon]," declared a Houston flight director. The lean years of the 1970s are becoming a distant memory. Though Richard Nixon called the lunar landing expedition of Apollo 11 "the greatest week in the history of the world since the Creation," he and subsequent Presidents were unenthusiastic about the space program. NASA's yearly budget fell from \$6 billion in the mid-'60s to just over \$3 billion in the mid-'70s, and the agency endured a six-year hiatus in manned flight. Its one big-ticket item—the Space Transportation System, better known as the space shuttle—suffered embarrassing delays, glitches and cost overruns. Before the shuttle's maiden voyage in 1981, critics sneeringly referred to it as America's "space lemon."

Meanwhile, the Soviets forged ahead. Manning a series of Salyut space stations, Soviet cosmonauts logged almost 88,000 hours in space, more than twice as many as their U.S. counterparts. More ominously, the Soviets tested at least a score of killer satellites that can knock other satellites out of the sky.

The White House watched these Soviet breakthroughs with mounting anxiety. Ronald Reagan was not about to let the Soviets seize the high ground of space, as



Skywalker: high above earth, Astronaut Gardner pulls himself along the shuttle's cargo bay

Only the squawk of voices breaks the extraterrestrial spell. As Joseph Allen, 47, and his fellow skywalker, Navy Commander Dale A. Gardner, 36, wrestle a disabled telecommunications satellite into the cargo bay of the space shuttle *Discovery*, they sound like a pair of movers trying to squeeze a 10-ft. piano through a 9-ft. door. "Joe, I assume you're comfortable there," says Gardner. "Not very," replies Allen. "Sorry to be taking so long," apologizes Gardner. "It's harder than it looks, just floating around." Back at mission control, a NASA spokesman quickly reminds reporters of the momentousness of the occasion: "Joe Allen now qualifies as the first human in history to hold a 1,200-lb. satellite overhead for one trip around the world."

Astronauts Allen and Gardner performed this feat of derring-do not once but

women crew of *Discovery*. If the President has his way, nightly news viewers "ain't seen nothin' yet." Reagan wants to launch a permanent space station by 1992 (the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of the New World) and have in place by the next century a Star Wars system of space-based missile defenses to protect the U.S. from nuclear attack. His national space strategy, announced last August, calls for the commercialization of space—through such novelties as orbiting, gravity-free factories—and even envisions a return to the moon and a manned mission to Mars early in the 21st century. Not since John F. Kennedy vowed in 1961 to put a man on the moon has an American President made such a commitment to exploring and exploiting space.

Whether Congress will pay for this

Showing Madison Avenue savvy, Gardner and Allen look for buyers for the salvaged satellite





Hand-off: Gardner delivers the recovered Westar satellite to Allen, who is standing on the tip of the shuttle's remote-control manipulator arm

Lyndon Johnson called it during the panicky Sputnik era of the late '50s. The Administration began emphasizing the military uses of space, calling for an annual growth of 10% (after inflation) in defense-related space programs. The military space budget for this fiscal year (\$8.4 billion) is already greater than NASA's (\$7.5 billion), and the Pentagon is aiming for a hefty \$18 billion in 1986.

Some shuttle flights already carry military satellites for spying, military communications, early-warning systems and navigational aides. *Challenger* Mission 51-C, scheduled for launch from Kennedy Space Center early next year, will be the first NASA expedition to have a purely military purpose. Missing will be the usual fanfare staged by the publicity-conscious space agency; this mission will be so secret that not even the launch time will be announced, lest Soviet tracking stations be tipped off.

The Air Force, meanwhile, has been quietly setting up its own "Blue Shuttle" (named for the service's color) facility at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California (completion date: March 1985). On Air Force drawing boards is the "Transatmospheric Vehicle" (TAV), more popularly known as the "space fighter," designed to take off from military bases and climb into orbit to search for enemy targets. Though the military helped persuade Congress to fund the space shuttle, the Pentagon is lukewarm about the shuttle's civilian uses. Military planners would prefer that Congress use the funds to build a new genera-

tion of heavy rocket boosters. The Pentagon's arguments include the usual one: the Soviets are already doing it.

The Administration's most ambitious military undertaking in space is the Strategic Defense Initiative, better known as Star Wars, announced by Reagan in March of last year. Reagan's hope is to create a space-based defensive umbrella that would zap enemy missiles with lasers or particle beams almost as soon as they were launched. His ultimate goal is to render nuclear weapons obsolete. Indeed, if the U.S. can build a foolproof nuclear shield, Reagan proposes sharing the technology with the Soviets. The Administration wants to spend \$26 billion on Star Wars over the next five years. So far, Congress has authorized almost \$2.4 billion, enough to get research and development under way.

Many scientists are skeptical, if not alarmed, about the Star Wars scheme. Nobel Laureate Hans Bethe argues that even being "as optimistic as you can be within the limits of the laws of physics and geometry," the system is unworkable. Other experts maintain that even if a Star Wars system could be made operational, it would never be 100% effective. Thus a Star Wars capacity might well intensify the arms race, since the Soviets would build more and more ICBMs to ensure that at least some of their missiles penetrated U.S. defenses.

The Administration insists that its real goals in space are peaceful. Reagan is fascinated by the commercial possibilities; these

fit neatly with his campaign theme of establishing "New Frontiers" of technological progress and economic opportunity. Reagan and others cite studies purporting to show that the technological and economic benefits of the space program outweigh the costs by 14 to 1. They note such practical spin-offs as hand-held computers, digital watches, long-lasting flashlight batteries and Teflon-coated frying pans.

The most pronounced commercial impact has been in communications. Satellites are capable of beaming anything from a telephone call to a bank draft around the globe. So many satellites have been sent aloft—at least 3,500—that space is literally getting crowded. (By international agreement, satellites over the equator must be spaced two longitudinal degrees apart—roughly 915 miles—in order to avoid interfering with one another's signals.)

In the future, the near weightless, germ-free environment of space may be ideally suited to manufacturing certain drugs, including interferon and insulin, as well as growth hormones and metal alloys. "We can speed up research drastically. For every new chemical created on earth, we could make five in space," says James Rose, a research director at McDonnell Douglas, the St. Louis-based aerospace company. The Administration has tried to encourage more space investment with tax breaks. It also heavily subsidizes the cost to private companies of launching satellites from the space shuttle. The U.S. Government does so because of stiff foreign competition from Arianespace, a pri-



Hangar on: Allen, held by foot restraints on the shuttle's arm, grasps the satellite as the astronauts prepare to ease it into the cargo bay

vately owned, but government-subsidized, French-based company that has had three successful launches since May of this year (see following stories).

Having salvaged the two satellites, NASA can now sell them (price: \$35 million apiece). As they walked in space last week, Astronauts Allen and Gardner indulged in some Madison Avenue pizzazz, jokingly holding a FOR SALE sign over one of the recaptured birds. NASA hopes the mission will put it into the satellite recovery business. A major hitch, of course, is that the shuttle can only climb to 500 miles, while many of the most important satellites are 22,300 miles up in geostationary orbit—that is, rotating with the earth and staying at a fixed point in the heavens. To put satellites into the higher orbit, the shuttle uses a satellite booster to fire them farther into space.

In addition to the known or anticipated fruits of space exploration, there are the discoveries as yet unknown. Though past explorers often failed to find what they were looking for—the Fountain of Youth, a Northwest Passage—they often stumbled across wonders they never dreamed of, from precious stones to uncharted oceans. Says James SeEVERS, an astronomer at Chicago's Adler Planetarium: "Out of the atmosphere of earth, you have an utterly clear view of the planets and the stars and the galaxy. The entire universe is open to you. We've probably learned as much in the past 20 years, since we've had a few satellites up there, as we've been able to discover from

the ground in the last century or two."

Inspired by such cosmic wanderlust, Reagan is ready to move on from the space shuttle to what NASA calls the "next logical step": a permanent manned space station. Still on the drawing boards, the space station would house half a dozen people for three- to six-month shifts in roomy shirtsleeve comfort. Weighing some 180,000 lbs., it would have to be erected in space like a giant Tinkertoy, using some of the techniques demonstrated by Astronauts Allen and Gardner last week. The Administration puts the space station's cost at \$8 billion, a figure that may be grossly underestimated.

A manned space station would have a wide variety of uses. It could serve as a garage and launching pad for manned spacecraft to the moon and beyond, at a fraction of the cost of launching from earth. Says Gerald Griffen, director of the Johnson Space Center in Houston: "We can bring supplies and materials up from earth and assemble those prairie schooners and send them across that great expanse up there." The station would be a lab for experiments and possibly even a factory for production of drugs, chemicals and alloys. It would be an observation platform for looking back at earth and deep into space. Astronomers could peer through telescopes and not have their view obscured by atmospheric murk. Says Griffen: "A space telescope would be seven times stronger than any earth tele-

scope. It's like putting Mount Palomar into earth orbit. We'll literally be able to see to the end of the universe."

The space station has many detractors, even within the inner councils of the White House. Budget Director David Stockman bitterly opposed the idea early this year as a waste of money. Reagan finally turned on him and quipped, "If you had been at the court of Isabella and Ferdinand, Columbus never would have made it to the New World."

The military frets that the space station will divert funds and energy from its Star Wars schemes. The National Academy of Sciences protests that it will swallow up so much federal funding there will be little left over for other kinds of scientific research. The Office of Technology Assessment, a congressional research agency, last week issued a report charging that the Administration had failed to find sufficient commercial, scientific or military reasons for the space station.

Some very important members of Congress also have qualms. Among them is Senator Jake Garn, chairman of the Senate appropriations subcommittee that holds NASA's purse strings. Though a strong supporter of the space program, Garn has opposed funding the space station until NASA more fully explores the role of automation and robotics in space. To give him some hands-on experience, NASA has invited Garn to become the first public official to fly in space; he will ride a shuttle mission possibly some time next year.

Space

Garn, 52, a retired colonel in the Utah Air National Guard, was a Naval aviator during the Korean War and has logged over 10,000 hours of flying time—more than any astronaut except Air Force Colonel Joe Engle. But as NASA spokesman John Lawrence acknowledged last week, "I think it's pretty obvious that his selection was based on what he does as a Senator and not on his experience as a pilot." (NASA will send aloft an ordinary citizen—a schoolteacher—probably in 1986.)

NASA officials have some difficulty explaining just why the space station is necessary. "Its ultimate use will evolve," says Griffen. "That I'm sure of. Like the shuttle, we didn't have some of these uses in mind when we designed it." NASA Administrator James Beggs told TIME, "It's hard to say where we are going, but it is important that in ten years we make sure that we open all the options, so that when a lunar site decision is made, we will have built the space station." Beggs' answer begs the question. He seems to be saying that the U.S. needs a space station because it is going to have a moon base, but he does not answer: Why does the U.S. need a moon base?

Manned spaceflight for its own sake is typical of NASA's thinking, argue critics of the agency. The function of the space program, says Astronomer Sagan, is "to put people up in tin cans in earth orbit and then bring them down again. People are going up in order to... go up. It is a capability without a mission." Concludes Sagan: "We do not have a space program, if one assumes that a program has goals and purposes."

Unmanned space exploration is not as sexy to the public; it has no life-and-death drama, no deriding-do, no right stuff. Yet many experts believe it is more valuable to scientific discovery, and at a fraction of the cost. While the space program seemed to most of the public to be languishing in the late 1970s, with no astronauts being sent aloft, NASA was thrilling scientists and astronomers with its unmanned space expeditions.

The Voyager probes to Saturn and beyond were "as exciting as the discoveries made in the age of Columbus," declares Sagan. The observation of huge dust clouds on Mars set scientists to wondering what would happen to the earth's atmosphere if the sky filled with smoke and ashes from cities burning during a nuclear war. The answer was the chilling vision of

a "nuclear winter" that would blot out the sun and end life on earth. Unmanned satellites help verify arms-control treaties, map ocean currents and weather patterns, even locate mineral deposits.

Scientists complain that as the Administration proposes to pour money into Star Wars and the space station, it is cutting back on unmanned missions. For instance, NASA passed up an opportunity to sail through the tail of Halley's Comet in 1986 (the Soviets and Europeans have scheduled Halley rendezvous). Laments Sagan: "Those space vehicles were very cheap. For just 1% of the cost of Star

gram in today's dollars, a mere \$73 billion.

A prime motivation, once again, is the fear that if the U.S. does not shoot for the moon, the Soviets will get there first. Soviet space capabilities may "explode on the front pages any day now," predicts Paul Lowman, a geologist at NASA's Goddard Space Center. Warns former Senator and Astronaut Harrison Schmitt: "The civilization that the Soviets represent may become the dominant force in space."

A manned mission could win the support of even skeptics like Sagan if it was aimed not at trumping the Soviets but at working with them. A joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. mission to the moon or Mars would engage the world's imagination and do more for peace than even the old Apollo-Soyuz linkup that helped cement détente in 1975. The Administration has taken a positive step in this direction by proposing to the Soviets a demonstration space rescue. According to NASA, Moscow has shown interest. The two nations would maneuver spacecraft close together and trade astronauts to show that one nation could rescue the marooned spacemen of another.

Space exploration has many benefits beyond the purely commercial, scientific or military. Man can learn about himself by living in near weightlessness in close quarters for days; he can gain a healthy sense of perspective on spaceship earth, floating amidst the planets and stars. President Reagan, like his predecessors in the White House, has used the space program to stir national pride. But such pride can quickly become chauvinistic or even reckless. Noting that the U.S. is spending \$1.6 billion on Star Wars this year, but only \$150 million on a space station, Bruce Murray, co-founder of the Planetary Society in Pasadena, observes: "We have to ask ourselves if we want to go beyond this. Is this the kind of space program that reflects the American people and how that people sees itself?"

Man has always yearned to explore, to enter the unknown. George Leigh Mallory's reason for setting out to climb Mount Everest—"Because it is there"—is answer enough for one man. But it will not suffice for a nation. The U.S. needs to search for new worlds, but it also needs a coherent space policy that will serve the world it already knows.

—By Evan Thomas.
Reported by Jerry Haniffin/Kennedy Space Center, Peter Stoler/New York and Bruce van Voorst/Washington, with other bureaus



Lift off: Discovery departs from the Cape

Wars, you could have a set of spectacular missions from now to the beginning of the next century. The answer to the origins of the universe might be within our grasp. It would be a shame to let it slip away."

NASA's next great goal is a familiar one: to put men on the moon. Only this time, NASA wants to keep them there to inhabit a lunar colony. Former NASA Administrator Thomas Paine predicts that by the year 2025, the first humans will be calling themselves "natives of the moon."

The price tag could also be out of this world: an estimated \$84 billion. NASA protests that the expense is not much greater than the cost of the original Apollo pro-

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Sallying forth: Gardner closes in on Westar-6 with stinger



Space claw: closeup of the shuttle's all-purpose limb

Space

Rounding Up the Runaways

For the first time ever, astronauts snare two errant satellites in space



For a few hours against the crisp backdrop of space, the rompin', stompin' show was something like *Sir Lancelot Goes to the Rodeo*. Bracing his "stinger" spear against his stomach and gently using the thrusters on his \$15 million jet-powered backpack like spurs on a well-trained cow pony, Astronaut Joe Allen rode easily into position beside the silvery dragon, or maybe it was a bull: Palapa-B2, the 9-ft.-high communications satellite with a mast and dish antenna atop. He crept up on the rotating cylinder and then pierced its engine nozzle with his stinger. Reported Allen: "O.K., I'm penetrating." Linked to the satellite, he began spinning along with it after he locked his spear in place. "Dock, dock," he muttered. He fired his thrusters and at last brought the ornery satellite to a halt. "Stop the clock!" he exulted. "I've got it tied!"

Allen was off on the most spectacular, most difficult and most wildly successful operation ever attempted in the increasingly workaday world of space. From launch to touchdown, last week's salvage mission was meticulously planned and sci-

entifically ornate, incorporating the efforts of NASA's technical staff, together with several dozen outside engineers.

Yet for all the preparations, blueprints and complex hardware, it was finally the human in the loop that made the difference, the man in the bulky space suit who improvised when perfect schemes fell through: without the astronauts, the twin satellites might still be drifting in darkness, orphans of the cosmos. Said one astronaut watching from earth: "As usual, it was good old Yankee ingenuity." Indeed, what with all that ingenuity, plus flawless deployments of two new communications instruments and a remarkable lack of space sickness among the crew of four men and one woman, the 14th shuttle mission can be considered the best yet.

That triumph, however, had its beginnings in a flub. Last February the Indonesian government's Palapa-B2 and Western Union's Westar-6 satellites, each worth about \$35 million, were launched from the shuttle *Challenger*. Almost at once something went wrong with the PAMS (payload assist modules), the rockets designed to boost the satellites to a geosynchronous orbit 22,300 miles above earth. The aluminum drums were stranded in a

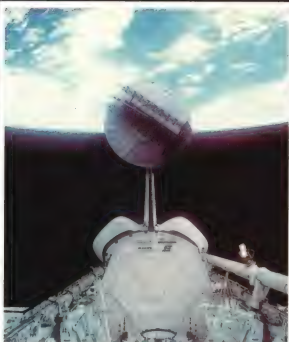
useless elliptical path that ranged from 195 to 828 miles up. The incident badly dented the space agency's pride and reputation. Almost immediately after the satellites were lost, NASA vowed to rescue them.

The deadline for completing the project was tight. From the moment the green light was given, engineers and others on the project began to put in 90-hour work weeks—figuring, designing, double-checking and, as it turned out, sometimes starting over. At the same time, NASA was preparing for another rescue, the repair in space of the Solar Maximum Mission scientific satellite damaged in 1980. The space agency set out to fix the sophisticated \$75 million instrument on the eleventh shuttle flight last April. But Astronaut George Nelson was unable to grasp the Solar Max with a device mounted on the arms of his backpack. An alternate technique worked, but the failed grapple plan had to be abandoned. In June, Astronaut Dale Gardner, who would be part of last week's mission, sketched out an alternative idea on the back of an envelope. The now famous stinger was born.

Solar Max had been built with retrieval in mind; it had a grapping pin in



Balancing act: Allen hangs from the shuttle's arm



Satellites away: Discovery unloads its high-tech cargo

the middle of its belly Palapa-B2 and Westar-6 are of the old-fashioned expendable variety, with smooth sides and no handles. The stinger, measuring 64 in. and consisting of a pole mounted on a round base, solved the problem neatly. It would inject an expanding prong into the satellite's rear motor, locking on to it and providing a grip for the wrangler-astronauts. As Allen explained, "It's like opening an umbrella inside a chimney." In practice sessions Allen could not reach the handle to "open" the umbrella. Another redesign was needed. It was now August.

A relatively experienced crew had been chosen for the critical mission. Commander Frederick Hauck, 43, had been the pilot of the seventh shuttle flight. Allen flew on the fifth voyage, when he had been unable to take a scheduled space stroll. Gardner, 36, who had been on the eighth mission, would accompany Allen on the rescue space walk. Only Pilot David Walker, 40, and Anna Fisher, 35, were rookies. In a program that trumpets its firsts, Fisher was proudly presented as the first mother in space, married to another astronaut, William Fisher. She gave birth to Daughter Kristin in July 1983.

The crew's involvement in mission planning was not limited to the stinger. Hauck suggested that the shuttle close to within 35 ft. of the satellites, instead of the 200-ft. distance maintained with Solar Max. The reason: to save the backpack's propulsion fuel. Meanwhile, ground controllers made plans to slow the satellites' spin from 22 to two rotations a minute. They prepared to send signals, putting the

two satellites in the same orbital plane, 690 miles apart.

As the launch date approached, the sense of exhilaration quickened. "It was put together in a hell of a hurry," said Pilot Walker with apparent delight. On the appointed day, turbulent winds of up to 80 m.p.h. at high altitude postponed the liftoff from Cape Canaveral. But nearly everything that NASA could control, it did. When the weather calmed down the next morning, the black-and-white bird threaded skyward only 70 milliseconds late. The one-day delay meant that the launch came on Gardner's birthday, and he promised "not to blow out the candle until 8½ minutes into the flight," when the main engines shut down.

Without the gremlins that often occur hours after lift-off, the astronauts had a fairly lax schedule the first three days. They easily dispatched two satellites, one for the Department of Defense, one for Canada, and initiated a crystal-growing experiment for the 3M Co. In the virtual weightlessness of space, crystals can be created that are many times purer than those grown on earth; such delicate molecules might be useful for electronics, imaging and healthcare technology.

Mostly, however, the crew prepared for the satellite roundup. With the confidence of a man who has logged 4,000 flying hours, Mission Commander Hauck stalked the first canister, pursuing a path that gradually spiraled upward. By 8:30 a.m. Houston time on Monday, on their 66th circuit of the world, the astronauts

spied Palapa shimmering in the eerie morning light of space. "Houston, *Discovery*," crowed Pilot Walker. "The sun is up, and we're ready to go." Swathed in their space suits, Gardner and Allen glided out to meet the satellite. Timing was critical: the men had only seven hours before their oxygen and power supplies would expire, forcing them back inside the shuttle. Gardner swiftly hooked himself into a pair of footholds on the shuttle hull, while Allen jetted off. Free of the mother ship, he became a one-man satellite, a white speck whirling about the blue earth at a speed relative to the ground of 17,500 m.p.h.

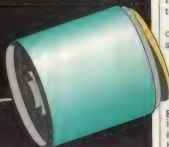
Allen's pas de deux with the satellite was a slow, surreal dance of weightlessness. He easily inserted his stinger into the nozzle and, when attached, he fired his jets to stop the satellite's rotation. He then had to turn the satellite around so that Fisher, at the controls of the remote arm, could grab the end of the stinger. Said she: "Give me a little more right yaw." Allen moved the satellite to the right. "Come on in, Anna," he said, as though assisting her on a tight parallel park. "You've got plenty of room."

After a slow but deliberate approach, the giant claw at last clasped its target. "Way to go," cheered Allen. Fisher repaid the compliment by giving him a ride on a cosmic Ferris wheel, as she flipped the satellite over with Allen still attached. Employing a pair of ordinary garden shears, Gardner snipped off the protruding part of antenna at the top so that the satellite would fit completely into the cargo bay. Beamed a pleased NASA spokes-

IMPROVISING IN SPACE

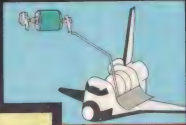
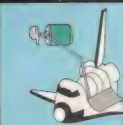
Two methods used to secure faulty satellites

1 In both cases astronaut spears canister with "stinger" apparatus and stabilizes satellite



Palapa-B2 Rescue

Westar 6 Rescue

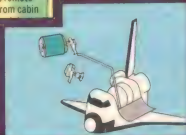
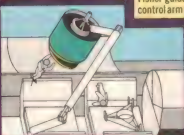


2 Alan grabs Minger and tells Allen and Fisher to reach out for

2 Allen, secured by web straps, holds antenna of Westar with flange at rocket exit

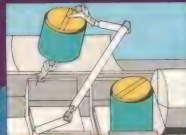


Fisher guides remote-control arm from cabin



3 With feet anchored in cargo bay, Allen reaches for lip of canister while Gardner waits below

3 Using jetpack, Gardner reaches to cargo bay with Minger



4 Allen grabs satellite as Gardner takes stinger and attaches berthing device

4 As Allen grasps top end, Gardner (previously) to berthing below

5 With both satellites stowed in cargo bay, Discovery is well on return home



man, Steve Nesbitt: "Everything went by the books."

That is, until the pages started falling out. Gardner's next step was to attach a specially built metal frame to the end of Palapa where the antenna had been trimmed. The frame was to serve as a grapple for the arm once the stinger was detached. The arm was then supposed to lower the canister into the cargo bay, where the men would secure it to its berth with trunnions. But a single metal panel on the antenna end of the satellite bulged out an eighth of an inch more than expected. Gardner could no more attach the custom frame than he could screw on a Mason jar lid that is half a size too small for its jar. So as not to waste moments, Walker suggested that they switch to Plan B manual berthing. Gardner and Allen had repeatedly practiced the alternate maneuver underwater. As Allen once explained about the trickiness of handling aloft a canister 9 ft. long by 7 ft. wide, "It's not heavy, it's massive."

But he was prepared to shoulder the load. Stowing his jet backpack, Allen, who at 5 ft. 6 in. and 125 lbs. is the smallest male astronaut in the corps, slipped into footholds and prepared to take the satellite from the arm. Allen was to hoist the unwieldy satellite, while Gardner removed the lance from the canister quickly enough, but had some trouble putting the stinger away. As expected, bits of carbon floated down from the engine of the satellite, and Gardner had to spend a few moments attaching a special "shower cap." Finally, he needed to put on an adapter ring that would help clamp the satellite to a pallet for the ride home.

For an entire 90 minutes, Allen did not budge. Though keeping his arms above his head in a weightless environment was not difficult, he confessed when asked if he were comfortable. "Not very." His ailment: muscle cramps. The law of inertia repeatedly threatened to take over. A tiny twitch could set the satellite in motion, and once moving, it is hard to stop. Gardner at one point had to jump in swiftly to keep Palapa from banging against the shuttle's side. When the docking adapter was finally in place, the duo gingerly pushed the satellite into the cargo bay. Exulted Allen as they locked the three trunnions down: "All right, together!" The entire space walk lasted six hours.

The following day, the two space cowboys rested as Hauck chased after Westar-6 Down below. Hughes engineers pored over blueprints of the second satellite to see if it might have the same protruding panel. There was no indication that it did, yet officials suggested that the astronauts abandon the idea of using the frame.

After discussion, crew and ground control agreed to improvise once again and use a human to help, literally, to hold the operation together. Instead of a mechanical claw, Astronaut Allen would be perched on the end of the robot arm, once

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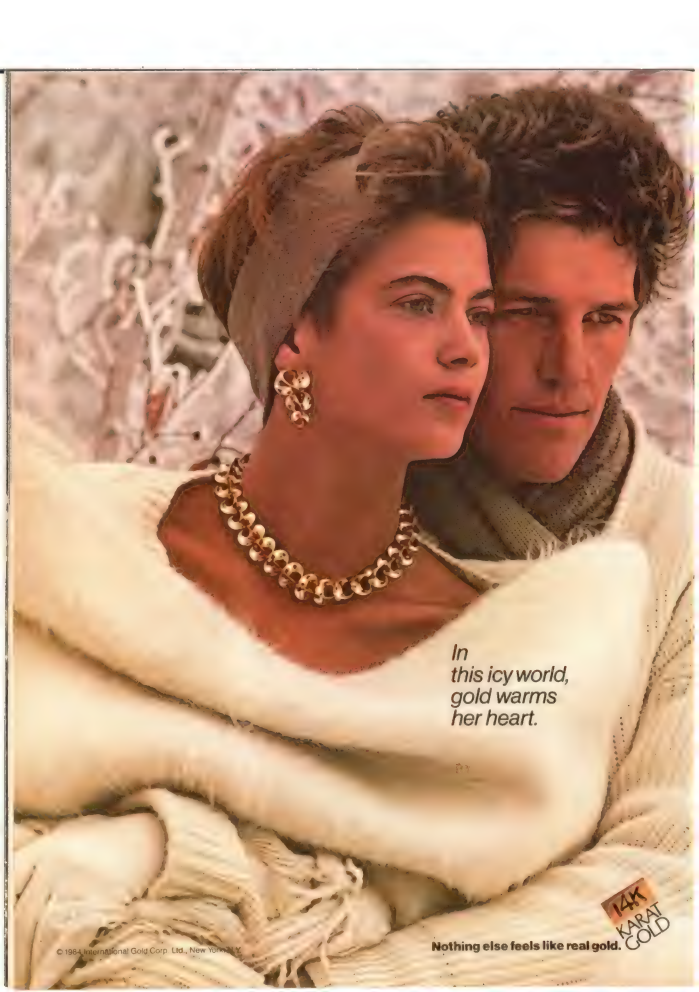


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*In
this icy world,
gold warms
her heart.*

Space

again drawing the duty of hefting the satellite. Using "Mighty Joe Allen," as one reporter called him, instead of the hook was to prove exceptionally efficient. By Wednesday morning the other rogue canister was in view; an awestruck Gardner exclaimed, "Look at that satellite!" This time it was his turn to sail forth in the Buck Rogers backpack, his body silhouetted against the Gulf of Mexico. And when he, too, easily pierced Westar with his stinger, he radioed over to his partner, "Joe, it's just like you said."

Gardner then slowed the rotation and, much as in the first retrieval, maneuvered the stray toward the arm. There, in a foot restraint, Allen waited to grab the antenna on Westar with his right hand, while his left gripped the antenna support. Gardner cut loose, thrust over to the bay, stored his pack and tethered himself to the cargo bay. Meantime, Fisher gingerly began to reel in Allen and the satellite until Gardner could reach up to remove the stinger. He could then proceed directly to the remaining berthing steps. The only newly tricky part was in keeping the second satellite from banging into the first. "Stop it now, but stop it gently," Gardner cautioned. Answered Allen: "Believe me, brother, there's no other way to stop it."

Even with their caution, the astronauts at one point were 1 hr. 20 min. ahead of schedule. It all went so well that toward the end they slowed down to relax and drink in the views. They completed the rescue in less than six hours. Said a cheery Commander Hauck: "Houston, we've got two satellites locked in the bay."

The biggest financial winners in the successful rescue are the insurers of the satellites. Backers, among them a major underwriter with Lloyd's of London, had paid the bulk of the \$180 million claims to Indonesia and Western Union after the satellites had been lost; in addition, they had spent \$5.5 million to help pay for the retrieval operation. Now the two foundlings belong to the insurers, who will refurbish them and sell them to any interested bidder. Said Lloyd's Spokesman David Lerner of the mood at the insurance association: "Jubilant would not be an exaggeration." Indeed, on confirming the second rescue, Lloyd's management ordered the famed "Lutine" bell rung twice, the insurers' traditional signal of a successful salvage, though normally of a more earthly vessel. The underwriters also awarded Allen and Gardner its silver medal of merit for services performed; only three others have been awarded since World War II.

The jubilation was understandable. The completed mission was an antidote to the generally gloomy picture in the space insurance business: almost \$300 million has been paid out in 1984 for satellite losses. Most insurance executives, however, believe that the rescue effort was likely to be a one-shot bargain, an arrangement that temporarily suited NASA, Hughes and



Posing aloft: Fisher and Allen, front row; Gardner, Hauck, Walker

the insurers, but one too expensive to be repeated under normal circumstances. Stephen Merrett, chairman of Merrett Syndicates and a member of Lloyd's, could not see "very much hard-nosed value for us." And insurers, who have been boosting space rates dramatically, are getting very hard-nosed. In the future, predicts James Barrett, president of International Technology Inc., insurers will huddle with engineers and NASA officials whenever an important decision about a satellite launch is made.

Whether last week's recovery extravaganza proves to be a forerunner of other rescue, repair or maintenance missions was less important for the moment than the elation of the accomplishment. For now, at least, NASA is afloat in glory. On Friday morning cloudy skies obligingly cleared, enabling *Discovery* to touch down

in Florida. It was only the third time that the shuttle had come home amid the lush swamps of Kennedy Space Center. "A spectacular mission," said Hauck after landing. Before the launch, he had sought to get some perspective on the upcoming task. "It strikes me as a little peculiar that each mission as we fly it seems to be the most difficult, apparently the most difficult. And yet a few months after it's over, in hindsight, it looks so easy as not to be newsworthy any more." Perhaps that is the point, to make more and more in space look easy, commonplace, matter of fact. *Discovery* and crew were turning the unprecedented into a job that was all in eight days' work. Not only does the space truck deliver, it picks up too. — *By Natalie Angler. Reported by Jerry Hanelin/Kennedy Space Center and David S. Jackson/Johnson Space Center*



Touchdown: the shuttle makes a dawn landing in Florida

Knocking On Heaven's Gate

*An astronaut describes
life in space*



Physicist Joseph P. Allen, one of five crew members aboard the space shuttle *Discovery*, made his maiden voyage into space two years ago. An astronaut since 1967, he took the

fifth flight of the shuttle *Columbia*. Back on terra firma, Allen collaborated with Writer Russell Martin on a book, *Entering Space*, published this month (Stewart, Tabori & Chang, \$24.95). Illustrated with scores of photographs, a few of which appear here, *Entering Space* is a knowing and scrupulously detailed account of the most ambitious American adventures aloft. It gives a sense of the prosaic minutiae and the dumb-struck wonder of traveling through space. Some excerpts:

► "The veteran of zero-gravity moves effortlessly and with total control. . . . In contrast, the rookies sail across the same path, usually too fast, trying to suppress the instinct to glide headfirst and with vague swimming motions. They stop by bumping the far wall in precisely the wrong position . . . they twist around too rapidly, knocking loose cameras, film magazines, food packages and checklists."

► "Even though still attached by the thin tether, the astronauts can release their handholds and drift free, out of reach of the orbiter's gunwales. They can literally become human satellites, a thought that is both thrilling and somewhat sobering."

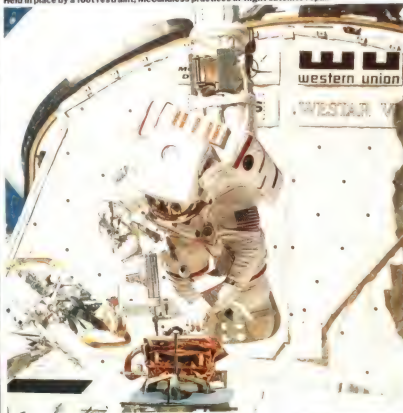
► "The easiest way for an astronaut to find the earth in the darkness is to search for a disappearance of stars, to look for the curve of blackness seemingly cut out of the heavens. That blackness, that absence even of starlight, is the round and solid earth looming only 200 miles away."

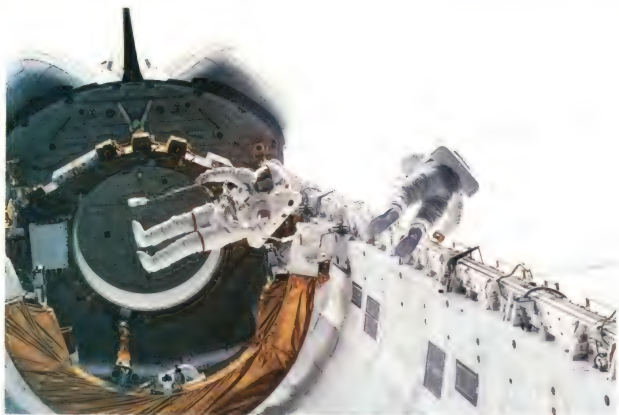
► "For the three crew members seated on the flight deck . . . the first real indicator of the orbiter's re-entrance into the atmosphere is the quivering needle of the G-meter. For days, the needle has been fixed at zero, as if it were painted on the dial. Now it shudders to life and slowly begins to rise. Then there is an unmistakable whisper of rushing air, at first almost too faint to hear, then louder and louder still. A faint red glow appears at the edges of the cockpit windows, then spreads across them and seems to curl up over the fuselage. . . . As it slows and the air no longer supports its raised nose, the forward landing gear falls with a jarring *whump*. . . . A spaceship has landed on earth." ■



Wearing spacepack, Astronaut Bruce McCandless maneuvers above *Columbia*'s cargo bay

Held in place by a foot restraint, McCandless practices in-flight satellite repair





Story Musgrave and Don Peterson spacewalking outside the shuttle Challenger: "They can literally become human satellites"

McCandless rides a hoisting arm to work area inside bay



Veteran of zero gravity: Bob Stewart in space regalia



Business Heads for Zero Gravity

Before long, new plants may be built in the wild blue yonder



Stowed away unobtrusively aboard the *Discovery* shuttle last week were six stainless-steel chemical reactors, each about the size of a football. In them, Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing was conducting an experiment that was not as spectacular as the main mission of retrieving crippled satellites, but potentially no less important. The company was studying how organic crystals grow in orbit. By combining chemicals in containers in the weightlessness of space, 3M's scientists were hoping to make crystals purer than any on earth.

\$11.5 billion worth of incredibly pure glass for optical purposes.

Such products are made possible by space's environment of near total vacuum and near zero gravity. Those conditions cannot be easily duplicated on earth, and they permit heretofore impossible experiments and manufacturing processes. In space, an oil-and-vinegar salad dressing stays perfectly mixed because there is no gravity to pull the ingredients apart. Mixed the same way, superstrong metal alloys could be made in the absence of gravity's pull. Unlike oil and vinegar, the new alloys would then stay together after their return to earth. Deere & Co., the Illi-



Scientists from 3M load six chemical reactors into a container for last week's *Discovery* flight. Strong metal alloys and superfast microchips may be born in the weightlessness of space.

Would 3M's experiments help improve some of its products? Could future space research yield a thinner, tougher Scotch tape? Perhaps. The only thing that 3M knows for certain is that the promise of manufacturing in space is enormous. So great is it, says Christopher Podsiadly, director of 3M's science research lab, that "we have to keep changing our expectations."

With NASA's encouragement, 3M is one of several companies looking to orbital factories as a place to conduct experiments. This high frontier, as some visionaries call it, could be the arena of the next industrial revolution. The Center for Space Policy in Cambridge, Mass., predicts that by the year 2000 space industries could annually produce \$27 billion in pharmaceuticals to combat cancer and other ailments. \$3.1 billion in gallium arsenide semiconductors for electronics, and

nois tractor maker, is investigating the impact of zero gravity on the molecular structure of iron. That could provide clues to making it stronger on earth. The next generation of supercomputers that make billions of calculations per second may use chips that will be born in orbit. Reason: space appears to be the place to produce ultra-pure crystals, free of defects caused by gravity, that can replace conventional silicon chips.

The 3M company is looking to space as a sort of annex to plants it already has in the U.S. In October 3M announced an ambitious ten-year plan to conduct experiments on 72 shuttle flights through the mid-1990s, right on up to NASA's proposed \$8 billion space station. On the ground at its campus-like headquarters in St. Paul, 3M has set up a space research and applications laboratory staffed with 15 chemists, physicists and engineers. The

firm will probably spend about \$8 million on the project next year, although the operation is so new that the company has not yet drawn up a formal budget. In its deal with NASA, 3M would get a free ride into space for its future shuttle experiments, as long as it agrees to make its findings public. It will begin paying NASA after products emerge.

Alongside 3M in business ventures in orbit is McDonnell Douglas, the St. Louis aerospace company. The firm has long made propulsion systems and other hardware for the U.S. space program and the shuttle. On five flights earlier this year, McDonnell Douglas and Johnson & Johnson, the New Jersey medical-supply company, ran electrophoresis experiments, which allowed precise separation under weightless conditions of biological materials. Although one batch was contaminated, the others permitted the removal of impurities too small to be extracted on earth. One possible outgrowth: production of insulin-producing cells to control diabetes. Says Isaac Gillam, the NASA official in charge of commercial programs: "We will see products manufactured in space from the McDonnell Douglas and Johnson & Johnson effort as soon as early 1986."

One made-in-space product, tiny latex balls only a bit larger than a red blood cell, will soon go on sale. Formed in the near weightlessness of orbit in April 1983 on the *Challenger* shuttle flight, each of the 1,000 or so samples is exactly ten microns in diameter. Their precise uniformity makes them suitable for calibrating medical and scientific equipment or possibly destroying cancer cells. Price of the microscopic spheres: \$350 to \$400 each.

Some experts are skeptical as to just how much corporations can get out of space. Costs are literally astronomical. Rental of work space on a space platform in the next decade could run to \$50 million a year. NASA's own proposed pricing schedule, which has not yet been approved by the Government, calls for a fee of \$71 million for renting the shuttle's full payload for each flight up to 1988, and perhaps \$100 million after that. NASA is mindful of competition from launch vehicles like the European Space Agency's *Ariane* series (see following story), which charges \$25 million to \$30 million to put satellites in orbit.

No extensive space manufacturing is likely to occur until the 1990s, says John E. Naugle, a Fairchild official. For now, research will prevail. Still, the advocates of business in space believe that doubts should temper but not rule. Says 3M's Podsiadly: "The only thing more risky than participating is not participating." Says Hubert Davis, president of Houston's Eagle Engineering, a space think tank: "I believe people often overestimate what can be done in the short term, and underestimate what can be done in the long term." —By John S. DeMott. Reported by Lee Griggs/Chicago and David S. Jackson/Houston

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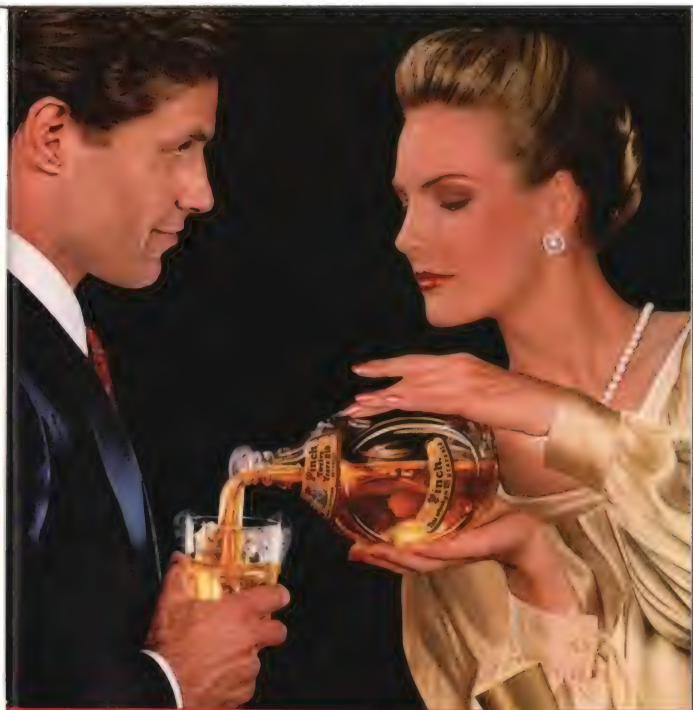
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Competitor in the Cosmos

Europe's Ariespace is giving NASA a run for the money



Two days after *Discovery's* lift-off from Cape Canaveral, a rival space vehicle blasted into the heavens on a mission that was considerably less acclaimed but, for the commercial future of the U.S. space program, ominously successful. *Ariane V11*, the latest effort of the eleven-nation European Space Agency, rose from the space center at Kourou

in the equatorial jungles of French Guiana to an orbit of 22,300 miles above the equator. There the rocket deposited two communications satellites. One of them, like many of *Ariane's* payloads, was sponsored by an international communications agency. The other satellite, however, was Spacenet 2, the second device that *Ariane* has carried into orbit for a U.S. customer, in this case General Telephone and Electronics Corp. With a combination of technological prowess and shrewd marketing, Ariespace had won the Spacenet 2 contract away from NASA in the latest round of what promises to be a fierce competition for profits in the cosmos.

The voyage of *Ariane V11* was the third successful venture for Ariespace, the mainly French-based company that manages commercial operations for the ESA. The company's first moneymaking launch came in May, almost 2½ years after the ESA began with a series of noncommercial flights. Most of Ariespace's customers are firms and government agencies from within the European Community. Nonetheless, both Ariespace and NASA are competing for the proliferating satellite market outside Western Europe. So far, Ariespace has won contracts for six American, two Brazilian, one Arab, one Australian and several other international payloads. Altogether, the European company has about \$750 million worth of contracts for launching 30 satellites. By comparison, NASA has booked 76 commercial contracts worth \$1.9 billion over the next four years. Says Jerry Fitts, deputy director of customer services for NASA: "In a very friendly way, we are competing very seriously against each other."

One selling point for *Ariane* is its reliability. The Europeans have a string of six successful launches since June 1983. NASA, by contrast, has had some problems on all of its 14 space-shuttle missions. That discrepancy, say Ariespace executives, has done more than enhance the European rocket's reputa-

tion: it has caused insurance companies to lower their rates for *Ariane* flights and raise them for space-shuttle missions. Insurers have good reason for valuing reliability. The industry paid Indonesia and the Western Union Co., original owners of the two errant satellites recovered last week by *Discovery*, a total of \$180 million in claims after the devices were placed in orbit incorrectly on an earlier space-shuttle flight.



Ariane V11 blasts off Nov. 10 from the Guiana Space Center
Technological prowess combined with shrewd marketing.

Price is another category in which the Europeans are closing in on NASA. Ariespace's total fee for a shared launch, in which two satellites can be carried for clients who split the cost, runs between \$25 million and \$30 million. NASA, which does not allow sharing, charges each customer a flat fee of about \$10 million, though prices are scheduled to rise by 80% next October. Ariespace's fees are not expected to change until 1989. In addition, Ariespace has found ways to ease the burden of flying European. Among the firm's 51 shareholders are 13 European banks, which offer favorable financing arrangements for Ariespace customers, an important consideration for a client facing a multimillion-dollar expenditure. Ariespace executives con-

sider such enticements necessary to counter what they claim are "enormous government subsidies" enjoyed by the space shuttle, an advantage that NASA officials deny.

Prices aside, *Ariane* has an edge over the space shuttle in doing certain kinds of work. A conventional three-stage rocket, *Ariane* can put its satellites into what scientists call geosynchronous orbit, 22,300 miles above the earth. The shuttle, by contrast, is designed to take payloads to near earth orbit, between 150 and 700 miles. *Ariane's* launch site on the equator means that a gentler trajectory, and consequently less fuel, is required to boost a payload into stationary orbit. In addition, satellites positioned farther from earth, where there are fewer molecules to cause friction, tend to last longer than those that orbit closer. *Ariane's* satellites have had an average working life of nine years, vs. seven for those hauled by the shuttle.

For *Ariane*, simplicity is an important virtue. The European rocket releases a satellite directly into orbit, dumping the payload at the correct height. The shuttle is launched by conventional rocket and then depends on rocket boosters to maneuver the satellite to its destination. That two-step process, critics say, is so complicated that the possibility of mishap is increased. Shuttle loyalists, however, insist that *Ariane* lacks the flexibility of the U.S. craft, and they point to last week's retrieval as an example of its wide range of capabilities. "That's the kind of thing you can't do with an expendable system like *Ariane*," says Miles Waggoner, NASA's spokesman for international affairs. Beyond all that, the shuttle is reusable, a feature that should help NASA hold down its costs as the program continues.

Perhaps the next avenue of competition between *Ariane* and the space shuttle will be weight. *Ariane V11* carried a payload of 2.5 tons last week, while *Discovery* carried only 1.4 tons. The Europeans are planning to put more powerful rocket engines on the next *Ariane*, scheduled for 1986, allowing it to handle a payload of 4.2 tons. NASA's plans call for a more modest increase in capacity, to between 1.75 and 2 tons by 1986. In addition, Ariespace officials expect that by the mid-1990s they will be able to place heavy loads with great precision into low orbit, which would be a direct challenge to one of the space shuttle's strengths. Says Roger Vignelles, launch director for the French National Space Agency, a part owner of Ariespace: "I think that we can give the Americans an interesting run for their money."

—By Louisa Wright,
Reported by Carolyn Lesh/Washington and
Tala Skari/Paris

Nation



Writing the script for Act II: The President presides at the first meeting of his Cabinet since his historic victory

Set for More of the Same

Reagan sees his 49-state electoral blitz as a mandate for continuity

"You ain't seen nothin' yet," he crowed at every campaign stop. Ronald Reagan's signature line implied that he had big plans for his second term. But what were they? Not even his advisers seemed to know. They suggested that Reagan had not given any serious thought to the next four years, for fear of jinxing his re-election drive. Last week the President and his aides set about the task of writing a script for the second act of the Reagan revolution. The dramatic personae (George Shultz, Caspar Weinberger, Donald Regan, David Stockman), as well as the story line (Central America, arms control, deficits), had a familiar ring.

Reagan convened two full sessions of his Cabinet and set forth the broad goals for his second term. Said he: "In the election the people said they want more of what we accomplished in the first term. Our main purpose was to reduce the rate of increase in Government, and we're going to keep on down that line." The Cabinet sessions were interspersed with a series of intense budget meetings involving

Secretaries Regan of Treasury and Malcolm Baldrige of Commerce, Budget Director Stockman and the President's closest White House aides. Reagan held a closed-door, 80-minute session with his two top foreign policy advisers, Secretary of State Shultz and National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, receiving from Shultz a broad outline of proposals for U.S. initiatives abroad. The President also formally asked Shultz and Defense Secretary Weinberger to remain at their posts, both accepted without hesitation.

Reagan and his advisers realize that the first half of 1985 will be their best opportunity to win support for new legislative programs. By the end of next year, they figure, many lawmakers will be less susceptible to White House pressures, since by then Reagan will be regarded by some as a lame duck. "There'll be no extended honeymoon this time," says David Gergen, former White House communications director. "It's essential that he reach out to the Democrats quickly."

One matter of immediate concern was an ominous decline in Washington's al-

ready troubled relations with Nicaragua. Though the Administration retreated from a leak made the previous week that a Soviet freighter was delivering MiG fighter jets to the pro-Marxist Sandinista regime, it continued to decry, in unusually harsh terms, the "incessant" buildup of other arms supplies in Nicaragua. Weinberger pointedly compared Moscow's current stockpiling of the country to its step-by-step militarization of Cuba nearly 25 years ago. The U.S. increased surveillance of the Soviet freighter *Bakuriani*, docked at the Nicaraguan port of Corinto, and of four other Warsaw Pact ships believed headed for Nicaraguan waters. The Administration repeated warnings that any attempt to introduce advanced fighter aircraft into the Nicaraguan arsenal would be "unacceptable" (see **WORD**).

Cabinet discussions on the budget took on some new urgency with Stockman's announcement that the deficit for fiscal 1985 is running even higher than the staggering rate he calculated in August: more than \$200 billion annually rather than \$172 billion. The increase is due in

part to a slowdown in the economy that has slightly reduced federal revenues, and partly to what a senior White House aide called "a one-time hiccup": a change in the way the U.S. accounts for federal housing notes that will add \$14 billion to the 1985 deficit. But there is nothing one-time about the continued flow of red ink at current spending and revenue levels. Martin Feldstein, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, estimates it will swell to \$250 billion annually by the end of Reagan's second term if no remedial action is taken. That is \$88 billion higher than the Reagan Administration's projection.

By all accounts, Reagan remains convinced that a combination of spending cuts and economic growth leading to higher Government revenues will provide the necessary correction. He prodded his Cabinet secretaries to stem the growth in Government programs. "We came here to dam the river," he said. "Let's start throwing in the rocks."

At the same time, however, Reagan has already declared major parts of the rock pile off limits to budget cutters. He will ask for a 14% increase in military spending in fiscal 1986, and he pledged during the campaign not to slice into the huge Social Security and Medicare programs. The Democrats say the cuts that Reagan is willing to make cannot possibly yield savings of the magnitude needed to close the budget gap. As for relying on economic growth to erase the deficit, many economists are doubtful. Feldstein, for example, forecasts \$150 billion worth of red ink annually even if the G.N.P. increases by 5% a year for the rest of the decade—a rate of expansion not sustained for that long since World War II.

Reagan remains adamantly opposed to a tax hike. But many economists and even some members of the Administration think it is unrealistic to believe that deficits can be brought under control without one. Vermont's Republican Governor Richard Snelling, the head of a bipartisan antideficit group called Proposition One, argues that every \$2 in program cuts must be matched by \$1 in new taxes for a budget-balancing plan to succeed. But Reagan did not even raise the possibility of a tax increase at last week's Cab-



net sessions. "There are some in this Administration who feel that we'll ultimately be driven to one," says a top White House aide, "but that's not going to happen."

The roots of the Administration's hang-tough approach on budget matters could be seen in the Cabinet ruminations of Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese. As the system works now, Meese complained, the size of the federal budget all too often dictates the content of the programs it funds. This Administration, he said, should reverse that process: decide first whether it likes a specific program, irrespective of its support in Congress, and include it in the budget only if the answer is yes. In the sub-Cabinet budget meetings, there was also strong sentiment to press for spending cuts even in the face of certain congressional opposition. The mood within the Administration, said one ranking presidential aide, is for "an all-out assault on federal spending."

The same White House official conceded, however, that it would be pointless for the Administration to send a budget so stripped of popular spending programs that it would be "dead on arrival" on Capitol Hill. He insisted that the final product

would be "credible." The big questions were whether the credibility would extend to cutting the defense budget and the big middle-class entitlement programs of Social Security and Medicare.

Reagan's meeting with Shultz and McFarlane was both a policy review and the opening gambit in a turf dispute that severely hobbled the Administration during his first term. Last summer Shultz quietly ordered aides to draft a summary of foreign policy options. He wanted not only to set priorities for a second term but also to establish himself as the man to carry them out. Above all, he hoped to force Reagan to decide which of two competing factions would have the upper hand in arms-control policy: Shultz's State Department, which is anxious to explore new negotiating opportunities, or the civilian leadership at Weinberger's Pentagon, which believes that almost any agreement with the Soviets would freeze the U.S. into a position of inferiority. By taking the initiative with Reagan, says a State Department official, Shultz fired "a shot across Weinberger's bow. If he can get the guidelines fixed now, Weinberger won't be able to stymie him so much."

One idea for settling the dispute, ad-



A turkey of a mandate: the President takes a handful of feathers during the presentation of a Thanksgiving tom at the White House

vanced by McFarlane, was to turn arms-control negotiations over to a newly appointed "czar" to coordinate policy. Not surprisingly, that notion, especially if the czar reported directly to the President, appealed neither to Shultz nor to Weinberger. Their combined opposition has made the issue a sore point.

Shultz argued that Reagan, if he is to make good his pledge to break the year-long impasse with the Soviets, must take personal charge of arms-control policy. That would be something of a departure for Reagan, who generally lets his staff reach a consensus before he acts. Shultz's argument was sound but also self-serving, since Reagan's commitment to easing the nuclear threat would automatically put him on the side of those in the State Department who advocate a flexible approach. Says one senior State Department official: "If the President wants what he says he wants, those who oppose him have to be brought into line or shunted aside."

Any such harsh or public disciplining would be out of character for Reagan. But one way he could signal a fresh interest in arms-control negotiations would be to provide a full definition of a seemingly new approach he alluded to briefly in his address to the United Nations General Assembly in September. The U.S. and the Soviet Union, he said then, should consider entering into "umbrella" negotiations. Administration officials later explained that these would involve lumping into a single set of talks six areas of military negotiations, some old and some new, between the superpowers. They include intercontinental ballistic missiles (the subject of the now suspended START negotiations), intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe (currently covered by the INF talks, also suspended), space weapons, chemical arms, conventional forces and so-called confidence-building measures, like the renunciation of large troop movements. That sort of comprehensive approach would let the Soviets return to the negotiating table with a minimum loss of face. They had boxed themselves in by making the removal of the U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles that had just been installed in Western Europe a precondition of returning to the INF talks and an incentive for resuming START. Since the U.S. could never agree to such a demand, the two sets of negotiations seemed in danger of remaining in limbo. Other than noting the face-saving benefits of the umbrella format, the Administration has said little about how such wide-ranging talks would be organized and carried out.

If Reagan decides to elaborate on the umbrella proposal, he can be certain that Anatoli Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to

the U.S., will be listening intently. During a reception last week marking the U.S. publication of a book by Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko, *Soviet-American Relations*, the wily Dobrynin engaged U.S. reporters in some cheerful but news-worthy badinage. "You have introduced something new in the history of Soviet-American relations, the umbrella," he said. "What is it?" Then, referring to the British term for raincoat, he joked, "A mackintosh we can understand, but this must be studied."

Chernenko sounded a conciliatory note from Moscow, calling for a return to the days of détente and speculating that progress on arms control could lead to "broad possibilities for cooperation" in other fields. In a series of answers to written questions submitted by NBC News, the Kremlin leader conspicuously refrained from any criticism of the Reagan Admin-



Baker and Meese: a hang-tough approach on budget matters, tempered by realism
"We came here to dam the river. Let's start throwing in the rocks."

istration, a staple of most of his previous East-West statements. Noting the milder tone of recent U.S. rhetoric, Chernenko declared, "If the statements that are being made lately in Washington with regard to the desire to seek solutions to problems of arms limitation do not remain just words, we could, at last, start moving toward more normal relations between our two countries." Responded Shultz: "We agree with the goals he states."

Yet it will take more than an exchange of good intentions to restore U.S.-Soviet relations to something approaching an even keel. "The problem for us has been translating policy intentions into practical steps," admits a State Department official. "We have not resolved the internal impediments there yet." For their part, the Soviets are apparently hamstrung by the uncertain leadership of the aging and ailing Politburo. They seem capable of responding only tentatively to overtures from the U.S. Shultz, for example, has made no secret of his desire to visit Moscow for talks with Soviet leaders early next year. At Indira Gandhi's funeral,

when Soviet Premier Nikolai Tikhonov expressed standard diplomatic hopes that he would one day see Shultz in the Soviet capital, the Secretary of State pointedly replied, "Is that an invitation?" Tikhonov was noncommittal, but Shultz still expects to make the trip.

To the extent that any politician running for a second term is judged by his record, Reagan's appraisal of his mandate is probably right: voters seem to want more of the same. Yet voters failed to provide him, as they had four years ago, with effective control of the House, though the Senate stayed in Republican hands.

Some political observers professed to see little or no mandate for Reagan, despite the historic proportions of his victory. In 1980, they point out, Reagan ran on a specific ideological platform that included tax cuts and defense buildups, and in victory he could credibly claim that the electorate wanted both. By contrast, they contend, his avoidance of specific issues this year has forced him to forfeit the claim to sweeping political authority, except possibly in the personality department. For some others, Mondale's disastrous weakness as a television-era candidate skewed the voting results. Joked Kansas Senator Robert Dole: "Reagan didn't win a mandate, he won a Mondale."

Yet it is difficult not to read in the election results a sizable voter allegiance to Reagan and his brand of flexible conservatism. Though it did not perhaps bring about the party realignment the GOP had hoped for, the election nevertheless showed

movement in the tectonic plates of American politics. According to a New York Times/CBS News exit poll, a larger percentage of voters between the ages of 18 and 24 cast ballots for the President than did any other age group, and for the first time since the New Deal, more of them identify themselves as Republicans than Democrats. Says California Congressman Leon Panetta, a Democrat: "You have to attribute the size of the President's victory to something beyond the fact that he's a nice guy. Certainly it implies there's more of a conservative edge on what we're dealing with."

Yet Reagan could easily squander his clout if he insists on making every legislative proposal a rigid test of ideological wills, as some within the Administration seemed inclined to do. "Going over the head of Congress is not going to work this time unless he can show that the Democrats have become recalcitrants," says a member of the House Republican leadership. "He's got to try to work with Congress first." That hardly seemed to be too much to ask of any President, even one who carried 49 out of 50 states.

—By William R. Doerner, Reported by Johanna McGeary and Barrett Seaman/Washington

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Drawing the Lines on Tax Reform

Whatever the plan, there are sure to be big winners and losers

On the surface, reform of the federal income tax, which has been debated for decades, would seem to be an idea whose time has finally arrived. The demand for change has been fueled by public indignation over reports that such highly profitable corporate giants as General Electric, Boeing, Dow Chemical and Transamerica have paid no tax at all in some recent years. There is widespread discontent over tax shelters that have brought investors \$2 or \$3 in write-offs for every \$1 invested. The underground economy, which deals in cash transactions that leave no paper trail, permits its participants to evade some \$100 billion in taxes a year and maybe more. Individuals and corporations spend billions annually for expert help on how to find loopholes and fill out complex tax forms. Responding to claims that all this is inequitable, President Reagan last January ordered the Treasury Department to "simplify the entire tax code, so all taxpayers, big and small, are treated more fairly."

Who can argue against a simpler and fairer tax, especially when the suggested reforms sound so appealing? More than 20 bills were introduced in the past Congress to remedy the situation, and the most prominent ones advocated a modified flat tax. Under most of these plans, deductions for the interest on home mortgages and donations to charities would be retained, but most others would be jettisoned, and tax rates would be lowered sharply. Where there are now 16 tax brackets ranging up to 50%, the major congressional plans suggest three at most, with the highest at 30%. The Treasury report, which will be given to the President next month, is expected to lean toward some such modified flat tax. Like most of the proposals, the Treasury plan presumably will be "revenue neutral"; it will net the Government the same amount of money as does the existing tax. Reagan recently repeated his campaign pledge that tax reform would be used as a disguised tax hike "only over my dead body."

Lower rates, no tax hike for anyone and no loss to the Treasury? It all appears to be a mirage. And it is. Even though Congress is not in session, lobbyists are already calling on staff experts and members of key tax-writing committees to press arguments against eliminating special-benefit tax breaks. Business interests are gearing up for an assault against reform on the logical assumption that they might have to pay more in taxes. Indeed, the realization is dawning that millions of Americans will have to pay more under any reform plan that could be passed by Congress. Even Indiana Republican Senator Richard Lugar contended that the President "misspoke" in declaring that no one would pay more. A common estimate is that nearly a third of all taxpayers will end up losers in the complicated game of whose tax break should

be protected and whose taken away.

Two competing congressional tax plans illustrate the clash of various groups. A Democratic bill sponsored by New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley and Missouri Congressman Richard Gephardt is called the Fair Tax Act. A Republican proposal termed the Fair and Simple Tax Act is advocated by Wisconsin Senator Robert Kasten and New York Congressman Jack Kemp. The basic approaches:

Bradley-Gephardt. There would be three tax brackets, 14%, 26% and 30%, thus retaining the progressivity principle and avoiding the charge that a single flat rate is unfair to low-income earners, who

come up to \$25,000 (\$40,000 on joint returns). A family of four would pay no tax if it earned \$11,200 or less. Taxpayers who would be hit hard would include those who now have large deductions or who stand to benefit substantially from current capital gains rates. People living in cities where sales taxes are high, such as New York, Washington and Seattle, would be pinched. The changes in corporate taxes would benefit service industries, while hindering those that require expensive plant facilities to compete effectively.

Kemp-Kasten. A single rate of 25% would be in effect for individuals, but this would be modified for most workers by exempting 20% of all income from wages (up to a maximum of \$39,600). The exemption of \$1,000 for each dependent would be doubled, which would benefit large families. There would be no deductions for any state



"That's just a harmless little tax reform snake, he's not gonna hurt you—c'mon, get going."

spend a larger share of their income on such necessities as food, clothing and shelter. Four major tax breaks would be dropped: the deduction for state and local sales taxes, the special treatment of profits from capital gains, which now permits taxpayers in the highest tax bracket to shell out only 20% (capital gains would be taxed at the payers' regular rate); the exclusion from taxes of fringe benefits provided by employers to their workers (including life insurance and health and child care); and the deduction for interest paid on purchases of consumer goods. Deductions for home-mortgage interest, medical costs, charitable donations and state and local taxes on property and income would be retained but could be taken off at only the lowest (14%) tax rate. Corporations would have their top rate reduced from 46% to 30% but would lose such advantages as the credit for investments in new plant and equipment and accelerated depreciation of such property.

Overall, Kemp estimates, 70% of taxpayers would pay either the same as or less than they do at present. Roughly 80% of individuals would pay the 14% rate, which includes anyone with a gross in-

come less than \$10,000. The remaining 30% would pay 26% or 30% on income over that amount. Local taxes except on property, but other common deductions would be retained. The maximum tax on capital gains would rise gradually over ten years to 25%. The corporate tax rate, as in Bradley-Gephardt, would be 30%. Accelerated depreciation would be kept, but the investment credit would be dropped.

While this plan generally would be more favorable to business than the Democratic proposal, it would be a shade more beneficial to the poor, exempting a family of four earning less than \$14,375 from paying any tax. Both plans would protect Individual Retirement Accounts from taxation until the funds were withdrawn. But while Kemp-Kasten would provide for the indexing of its exemptions and deductions to inflation, Bradley-Gephardt would not. Sponsors of both plans say there would be no net gain in revenue for the Government nor any redistribution of the tax burden among income groups.

Irving Kristol, a senior fellow at the conservative American Enterprise Institute, arguing that the two proposals are close in intent and substance, urged the President last week to call the four legislators to the White House to hammer out a

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The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Using the Tried and True

compromise. No one expects that to happen, however, since the Treasury Department will be pushing its own plan. Beyond that, even the seemingly minor differences in the bills loom very large when viewed from the perspective of those who would be hurt. The tax credit for new investments, for example, is worth some \$29 billion a year to corporations; they see it as vital to a sustained recovery and would wage a fierce fight to keep it. Business also enjoys some \$19 billion annually in tax gains from accelerated depreciation schedules. The total tax breaks for business under the current code will amount to \$95 billion this year. Most of them were designed as incentives to encourage economic growth, modernize plants and in the end provide more jobs. Critics argue that many deductions either did not serve their purpose or are no longer needed.

Individuals benefit even more under the various tax credits, deductions and exclusions that were created to promote social and economic goals, such as home ownership and income after retirement. In all, these losses to the Treasury will amount to some \$270 billion this year. The biggest single break is the deduction from income of company contributions to retirement plans, which gives workers a temporarily tax-free annual benefit of \$53 billion. Retirement income is taxed when workers begin drawing it, but by then they are normally in a lower tax bracket. Home mortgage deductions amount to \$25 billion annually, state and local taxes \$22 billion, charitable contributions \$13 billion. Many of these tax benefits are so widely accepted that a true flat tax seems impossible to enact. Even modifying any of the existing provisions is certain to stir resistance from those who would be hurt. For the individual taxpayer, notes retiring New York Congressman Barber Conable, "if the bottom line is that his taxes went up, that is not reform. That is fraud."

While the modified flat tax is favored by Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan, the political obstacles are so great that other options may have to be weighed. The Treasury study is also expected to give the President the pros and cons of both a national sales tax and a value-added tax (similar to a sales tax but levied at each stage of a product's development and distribution).

In the end, many lobbyists contend, Congress will lack the stomach to attempt true reform unless a genuine crisis is perceived. Some see the huge deficit as that crisis and the need for Government revenue as a spur to help solve the problem. Contends Tax Lobbyist Charles Walker, a former Treasury official: "Fundamental tax reform can only be passed as part of a major deficit-reduction package. A revenue-neutral plan has no chance." That view could prove too gloomy, but if tax reform is to have a chance, the President will soon have to take the lead—and the heat. —By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Gisela Bolte/Washington

The startling thing about Ronald Reagan's postelection presidency is that so much remains the same. When Richard Nixon was voted another term in 1972, he demanded resignations from 2,000 political appointees with an eye to weeding out his first-term team and infusing the survivors with a little fear from the boss. Reagan has done just the opposite.

It is clear now that several months ago he was rather certain of his re-election and made plans to encourage his people, to produce a salubrious White House environment rather than an earthquake. A week before the election, his staff received personal letters thanking them for their services and hinting broadly that they would continue to be welcome. Most of them will stay. Reagan likes that.

His Secretary of Education, T.H. Bell, and his Attorney General, William French Smith, have planned to leave for some time, but the bulk of his Cabinet will carry on. Reagan's physician, Daniel Ruge, has been training a replacement, Los Angeles Physician Burton Smith, for more than a year. There will be other changes, some expected and some not. But they will be ripples on a tranquil surface. When a man is over a certain age, Harry Truman noted, change is not that welcome. At 73, forget it. Reagan may have produced a landslide, but he is really a glacier.



"I'll put a cast on that lame leg"

The gray has crept timidly through Reagan's lush head of hair. An aide half his age examining the presidential locks in the Cabinet Room the other day felt his own thinning strands and lamented that he did not know the Reagan secret. Ruge says Reagan shows no signs of stress. His blood pressure and heart rate are the same as they were when he walked through the front door of the White House.

At the first Cabinet meeting after his re-election, Reagan pulled out of his coat pocket a copy of his famous 1964 speech for Barry Goldwater in which he laid down his scripture about forcing Government to heel. It was like Moses bringing back the tablets for review. "Government tends to grow. Government programs take on weight and momentum, as public servants say, always

with the best of intentions. 'What greater service we could render if only he had a little more money and a little more power.'"

Reagan told his Cabinet Secretaries that he was ready to hit "the sawdust trail," spreading the gospel to cut Government spending. "Lame duck?" he chorled. "I'll put a cast on that lame leg, and that will make a heck of a kicking leg."

The President probably never calculated that he was creating a governmental strategy for these crucial weeks. It simply came from his heart and his gut, where so much of Reagan resides. It goes like this: get the old partisans fired up again with purpose and patriotism and make sure they are totally devoted to Reagan, not to the media or the bureaucracy. Then trudge on.

Reagan still wears some of the suits he brought with him from Hollywood, including that plaid number with the cross-hatching that drives the TV technicians wild. He clings to the baggy, beige sweat pants that he wears on Air Force One. He and Nancy are making plans for the parties they will give and attend at his inauguration in January. In the boiler room of the White House, they are betting he will recycle the old movies that he shows in the White House theater.

The better question now may be not whether Reagan will be different but whether the world may make some adjustment to him. The polls in Europe show a marked increase in respect for Reagan. The Soviets have made several intriguing comments that suggest they are finding more merit in his arms-control proposals than they ever noted before the election. There are some sage observers in this city who claim they even detect a slight mellowing in Tip O'Neil.

Washington is jittery right now with countless conspiracies for favor and power. One of the President's longtime advisers, Lyn Nofziger, recalled last week that the world has come closer to Reagan than he has to it. The needle on the national compass may spin, but Reagan is as fixed and steady as true north.

Republican Wrangle in the Senate

Five candidates stage a dogfight for the majority leader's job

For Republicans, the presidential election was more a celebration than a genuine contest. Now, however, as the giddiness passes, G.O.P. leaders have a real election to worry about. Next Wednesday morning the 53 Republican members of the new Senate will choose a majority leader to replace Tennessee's Howard Baker, who chose not to seek reelection to the Senate.

The majority leader's job is one of the several most important in Washington, and five candidates are fighting for it. Since the majority leader cannot also head a Senate committee, and since three of the five candidates are chairmen of important committees, next week's G.O.P. caucus is almost certain to set off a new round of politicking for the various chairmanships, which are to be filled in January.

Baker joked that he was the Senate's janitor, opening up the place every morning and keeping the political plumbing in good repair. But as the first Republican majority leader since 1953, he deftly walked the line between passive overseer and overbearing boss, winning consensus into shape when he could, urging the White House to change legislative tacks when he could not. The institution is balky, filled with large egos and powerful fiefdoms. The majority leader has to wheedle and plead, wheel and deal, yet maintain an almost presidential gravity.

The declared contenders for the job, all conservatives, are Robert Dole of Kansas, Richard Lugar of Indiana, Ted Stevens of Alaska, James McClure of Idaho and Pete Domenici of New Mexico. Dole is the front runner. Once known chiefly for his astriking wit and confident, almost arrogant intelligence, the three-term Senator in recent years has played a more statesmanlike role. "I'm sort of a consensus builder," he says. To the consternation of the Reagan Administration, he has pushed for tax hikes along with spending reductions as the only way to make a sizable dent in the deficit. Dole has the most serious national ambitions: he was the vice-presidential nominee in 1976, made an abortive bid for the G.O.P. presidential nomination in 1980, and is thinking hard about 1988. His colleagues may be reluctant to give him visibility and thus an early edge in the nomination race; besides, they may not want a leader who would be otherwise engaged.

Lugar, buttoned-up and a bit bland, is a capable organization man who may be the second choice of Senate Republicans. If Dole might be too assertive

as majority leader, the low-key Lugar could be too deferential. Elected to the Senate in 1976, he is a relative newcomer. It seems apropos that Stevens, a 14-year veteran, is majority whip; his opinions tend to be plain and angrily expressed. "I've got a temper," he confesses, "and I know how to use it!" The New Right would pick McClure, a Senator since 1973, who shares their ultraconservatism but not their uncompromising manner. Domenici, re-elected to his third Senate term, is fair-minded and sincere in the Baker fashion. As Budget Committee chairman,



Dole: out front



Lugar: low key



Stevens: hot temper



McClure: far right



Domenici: dark horse

he has shown great forbearance. But he is the darkest horse. Says one Senator: "I don't think Pete's got a chance."

Election requires a simple majority, or 27 votes of the 53. After each secret ballot, the candidate receiving fewest votes will be eliminated. Each of the five has enlisted the support—of ten to 15 Senators. "If everyone has the votes he claims," says one Domenici partisan, "then there are 74 Republican Senators."

But this election will not turn simply on personal loyalty or on judgments of the contenders' relative competence. There is, in addition, the question of the committee chairmanships that hang on the outcome. Dole, for example, heads the Finance Committee. The next most senior Republican is Moderate Bob Packwood of Oregon, who would take over the committee if Dole became majority leader. That, in turn, would make Moderate John Danforth of Missouri chairman of the Com-

merce Committee. Whom do Packwood and Danforth support for the majority leadership? Dole, naturally. Meanwhile, Dole has been reassuring conservatives that Packwood, despite his liberalism on social issues, is a fiscal hard-liner, perfectly trustworthy to run the Finance Committee should the chairmanship become, uh, vacant.

Another web of uncertainties has Jesse Helms of North Carolina at its center. In his tough re-election campaign this fall, the New Right standard-bearer promised his tobacco-farmer constituents that he would remain as head of the Agriculture Committee to maintain their price supports—even if the plummy chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee were to become available to him. It did, when

Charles Percy was defeated for reelection in Illinois. The White House and most Senators are queasy at the prospect of Helms in a position of formal foreign policy power. As chairman, Helms might try to scotch any nascent arms-control deal, or champion too enthusiastically right-wing Latin American bully boys like El Salvador's Roberto d'Aubuisson. But although Helms said again last week that it is his "intent to remain as chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee," he may have no choice in the end. If Lugar, second-ranking on Foreign Relations, wins the majority leadership, the committee chair would go to Maryland's Charles Mathias—a bona fide liberal whom Helms cannot abide. If anyone but Lugar wins the leadership election, however, the pressure will be intense on Helms to stay where he is; if he moves, he will be succeeded as Agriculture chairman by none other than Lugar, who is inclined to cut tobacco subsidies.

Other Senators are involved in similar strategies. McClure's candidacy for the leadership job may be hurt by conservative distaste for his prospective successor as Energy and Natural Resources Committee chairman: free-thinking Lowell Weicker of Connecticut. Conversely, Colorado's William Armstrong, second-ranking Republican on the Budget Committee, is regarded as perhaps too rigidly conservative for that give-and-take chairmanship.

Ironically, the race for majority leader could be decided by the minority wing of the party. Six liberal-moderate Republicans—Mathias, Weicker, Packwood, Mark Hatfield of Oregon, Robert Stafford of Vermont and John Chafee of Rhode Island—plan to meet the day before the election to explore voting as a bloc. Acting jointly, with a group of nine G.O.P. moderates, they may be decisive. "Frankly," says one of the centrists, "we're close to being in the driver's seat."

—By Kurt Andersen.
Reported by Neil MacNeil/Washington



Aerodynamics: The final touch.



It is fairly obvious that a driver's car needs a good engine, good chassis, good suspension, and controls that are within easy reach or vision of the driver. But aerodynamics is the final touch that makes your car drive and handle well.



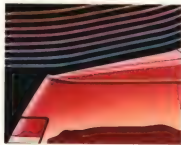
A car in motion creates air turbulence around it. That turbulence can balloon out and add to the mass that you are trying to push through the air. It is one of the functions of aerodynamic design: to lessen that turbulence and, in effect, slim down your car. It's as simple as that.

But good air management has other benefits just as important to a driver. It makes driving quieter. It keeps your windows cleaner. And perhaps even more important, it reduces the lift that your car would normally experience as it moves through the air. That helps keep the wheels firmly on the road.

A car that cuts air turbulence down to size and makes airflow work for the driver instead of against him is the vehicle of the future. I realized this when my Grand Prix racing car had to

sprout wings and spoilers to stay competitive.

What works on a single seater racing car can be made to work on a passenger car. Thunderbird and Tempo have both recorded drag coefficient figures—.35 and .37—that are



A spoiler is built right into the trunk end.

very low for five-passenger automobiles.

Their aerodynamic shapes emerged only after many many hours had been spent in the wind tunnel.

The result is a front end with a low profile, followed by a hood swept up to a steeply raked windshield. Side glass is set out almost flush with the sheet metal. The doorline is wrapped up into the roof. And from the top, you can see that the front and rear are tapered to help control turbulence.

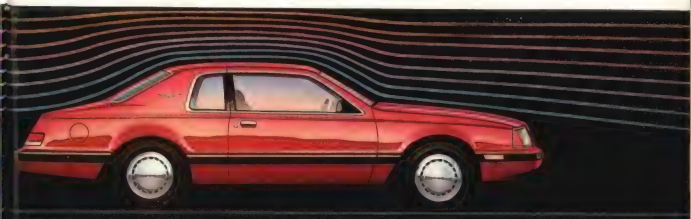
When you add these air-managing features to the newest form of sophisticated engineering, you get highly competent road cars. Both of which I thoroughly enjoyed driving.

Get it together—Buckle up.

Jackie Stewart



I have you driven a Ford...lately?





"The monument marks the final step of dedicated effort to overcome the past"

Healing Viet Nam's Wounds

A statue helps to honor survivors of a divisive war

The posture of the three figures is slack, the battle dress disheveled. The faces are young and tired. The eyes are wary. There is nothing heroic about the bronze men, but together they suggest the wordless fellowship that is forged only in combat. And there can be no mistaking where they fought: Viet Nam.

The dedication of Frederick Hart's seven-foot figures last week before 150,000 veterans, relatives and officials in Washington, D.C., climaxed three days of ceremonies devoted to Viet Nam veterans. The statue, says Hart, was "deliberately designed to be a sort of anonymous snapshot."

Two years ago, to honor the 2.7 million members of the U.S. armed forces who served in Viet Nam, a wall of polished black granite was erected on the Washington Mall, 500 ft. from the Lincoln Memorial. The 493.4-ft., \$4 million-plus structure, inscribed with the names of the 58,022 Americans who died or were declared missing in the Southeast Asian war, was the result of a five-year fund-raising drive led by Jan Scruggs, an ex-infantry corporal who founded the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund. But the wall's stark, understated design displeased many veterans. As a result, the veterans' organization decided to install a more traditional artwork near by. The new statue, 100 ft. from the wall, suggests soldiers scanning the granite wall for the names of fallen comrades.

The dedication ceremony marked a double triumph. A Washington television station, WDM, which had earlier charged Scruggs and other veteran organizers with misappropriating funds for the monument, retracted the story, apologized and

contributed \$50,000 to the memorial fund. Noting that Viet Nam vets, unlike those of America's earlier wars, were forced to build their own memorial, Scruggs said, "As it turned out, the monument has more of an impact being done privately. It was Viet Nam veterans taking care of their buddies."

The closing ceremony was attended by General William C. Westmoreland, the former Viet Nam theater commander, and President Reagan. Wearing a raincoat and speaking in a subdued tone, Reagan, who had angered vets by not attending the wall's dedication two years ago, called those who had served in Viet Nam true patriots. "I believe that in the decade since Viet Nam the healing has begun," said the President, "and I hope that before my days as Commander in Chief are over the process of healing will be complete."

For some, the weekend came close to achieving that end. "If the country rejected us, and it did," said John Ruhlmann, 37, a former Army sergeant, "we can get together here, bound by the monument." That harmony was expressed in a variety of ways, from a candlelight vigil to a '60s nostalgia concert by Frankie Valli and the Four Seasons; the mood throughout shuttled between tearful meditation and joyous, beery reunions. At the end, just about everyone seemed to feel a little better.

"The monument," explained Everett Alvarez Jr., a Navy veteran who was the first American pilot to be shot down over North Viet Nam, "marks the final step of dedicated effort to overcome the past."

—By Alessandra Stanley.
Reported by Bruce Van Voorst/Washington

Warning Signals

Symbols for 10,000 years

Since the 1982 Nuclear Waste Policy Act, the Government has been planning to create gigantic, underground waste dumps where the deadly byproducts of nuclear-power and -weapons plants could be isolated. The Department of Energy is currently considering nine sites in six states for the high-level radioactive garbage. But since the material will remain toxic for thousands of years, the Department of Energy contracted a special 13-member study panel in 1980 to explore how future inhabitants of earth might be protected from hazardous waste sites. The Human Interference Task Force, a team of nuclear physicists, linguists, engineers, anthropologists and psychologists, has come up with a number of suggestions on how to communicate with the 120th century.

At the heart of the committee's problem was the unpredictable ways in which languages evolve: the panel had to devise forms of communication that could be understood by the next 300 or so generations. One suggestion is a waste repository with a series of raised earth barriers built around it in a triangular pattern. Within this wedge would be monument-like markers, as durable and detectable as England's Stonehenge monoliths. These structures would bear triangular warning symbols or cartoons as simple in design as the 17,000-year-old cave drawings by Cro-Magnon man in France. One proposed sequence of drawings: three human figures stand by a dump site; one of them drinks from a bubbling well and falls dead.

One of the most intriguing proposals came from Thomas Sebeok, a professor of semiotics at Indiana University. Sebeok called for the creation of an "atomic priesthood" to pass along, over the millenniums, rituals and legends that would explain the dangers of waste dumps. Such forms of communication, said Sebeok, could contain "the veiled threat that to ignore the mandate would be tantamount to inviting some sort of supernatural retribution." The task force cautioned that "there is controversy among historians over the efficacy of oral transmission as a method for accurately conveying information over long time periods" but suggested further study of the technique.

While the task force won credit for tackling a complex, difficult subject, its proposals struck some critics as naive. "The whole report wasn't that high level a job," complains a congressional staffer. "They're really going to have to come up with something better."



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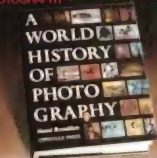


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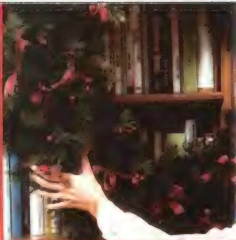
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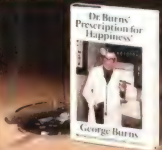


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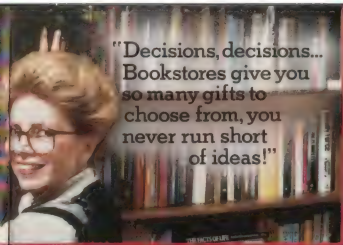
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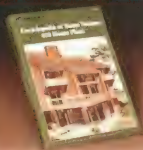
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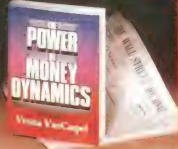
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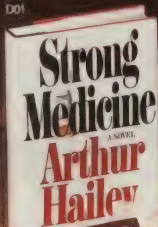
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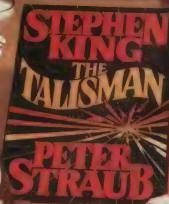
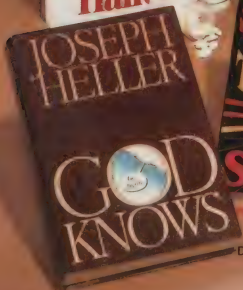
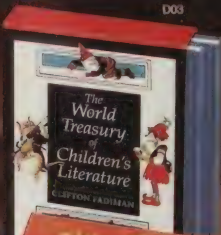
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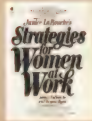


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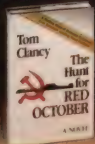
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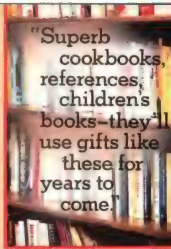
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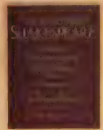
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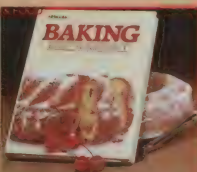
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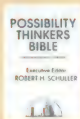


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Gail See

Gail See
President

American Booksellers Association

American Notes

DIPLOMACY

Close Call for a Private Jet



A palace guard

It was just after dusk when the French-built Falcon 20 flew over the presidential palace and the adjacent U.S. ambassador's residence in the Beirut suburb of Baabda. But then the plane took a second turn over the compound, and Lebanese soldiers, suspecting a terrorist attack, opened fire with anti-aircraft guns. Fortunately they missed their target, a private plane owned by the Saudi Arabian Golden Contracting Co. The pilot had veered off course while approaching Beirut Airport. Aerial traffic controllers were able to guide the jet to a safe landing.

The incident illustrated the troubles faced by Americans and Lebanese worried about another possible kamikaze assault in Beirut. Lebanon's civil aviation authority has instructed planes heading for Beirut Airport to avoid Baabda. If a wayward aircraft does appear over the presidential compound, security forces have little time to decide whether the plane carries harmless civilians or terrorists with explosives. "It is not a situation we relish," says a U.S. official. "I'm afraid it's a question of shooting first and asking questions later."

CRIME

Teen Violence in Detroit

Guns come close to ranking as household appliances in Detroit. With an estimated 1.5 million firearms in a city of only 1.2 million people, it is hardly surprising that many guns wind up in the hands of youngsters. Since January, an astonishing 219 people under the age of 17 have been shot in Detroit; 18 have died. Some of the victims are believed to have been involved in the drug trade. Last week a group of 88 students from the city's high schools began a summit meeting to discuss ways of combatting the violence. They will present their recommendations to Mayor Coleman Young in late November.

Why the uncurbed gunplay among Detroit's young people? Overall, violent crime in the city declined slightly in the first six months of 1984. But the youth-gang squad has been diminished to bare bones as part of a 36% reduction in police manpower since 1978. Budget cutbacks in the educational system have led to reductions in security at various schools. Unemployment remains well into double digits. Soup kitchens expect to take in more hungry this year than ever before. A growing number of citizens are below the poverty line. The violence among Detroit's children may be just the most visible manifestation of a city in major distress.

WELFARE

Managing the Poor

The Reagan Administration, which prides itself on keeping Government out of people's lives, made a distinctly paternalistic proposal last week. The Department of Health and Human Services suggested that a portion of welfare recipients' monthly checks under the Aid for Dependent Children program (A.F.D.C.) be earmarked for rent payment, ensuring that landlords will get their money. The proposal, proponents feel, would make welfare tenants more attractive to landlords and cut down on the eviction rate.

Most of the nation's 16 million welfare recipients are permit-

ted to spend their checks as they choose. The suggested change would mean that welfare tenants who failed to pay their rent for two months would be adjudged to have mismanaged their money. At this point, a landlord could ask state welfare officials to divert part of the A.F.D.C. for delinquent rent within the next 30 days. One critic of the proposed rule, Henry Freedman, director of the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law, said that those on welfare should be permitted to spend their money as they please. Said Freedman of the plan: "It's a major limitation of people's ability to run their own lives."

SAN FRANCISCO

Death of a Master Chef

Masataka Kobayashi was a curious mix of cultures. He was a Japanese chef who specialized in exquisite French dishes at some of America's finest restaurants. The son of a Tokyo food dealer, he went to Switzerland at age 16 to learn the art of French cuisine. Years later in New York, Kobayashi ("Masa" to his friends) transformed Le Plaisir into one of the city's most prestigious restaurants. In 1981 he became master chef at the Auberge du Soleil in California's Napa Valley. Two years later, he opened Masa's in San Francisco, a restaurant so popular there was a 21-day wait for reservations.

Last week Kobayashi, 45, was found dead in his San Francisco apartment after he had failed to show up for work at Masa's. He had suffered head injuries and was discovered in a pool of blood. The contents of his wallet were scattered on the floor, the front door was unbolted, and a rear window was ajar. Nevertheless, homicide investigators declined to say that the chef was a victim of an attempted burglary. Said Bill Cunin, maitre d' and general manager of Kobayashi's restaurant: "There was no one who was overtly anti-Masa or even upset with Masa."



"Masa" Kobayashi

LANGUAGE

Salty Talk for the Navy

There was a time when a Navy man talked like a sailor. He cooked in the galley and ate on the mess deck. If he got out of line he was thrown into the brig. But in the 1970s the Navy adopted the language of landlubbers. The galley became a kitchen; the mess deck was termed the enlisted dining facility; the brig was transformed into a correctional facility. Even the snappy 80Q, Bachelor Officers' Quarters, gave way to unaccompanied officer personnel housing.

Secretary of the Navy John F. Lehman Jr. has been waging a one-man war against what he terms "the bureaucratization of naval language." Last week, in an effort to restore "our nautical lexicon," he ordered all Navy facilities to return to traditional usages by Jan. 1. No longer will passageways be halls or heads identified as toilets. Windows will once again be portholes, and ceilings will be overheads. Lehman, a naval aviator, also objects to recruiting pitches like "The Army wants to join you," feeling that such lines convey a "sense of apology" about the military. Says Lehman: "We're throwing that sort of thinking into the dustbin."



Secretary Lehman



A desperate thirst for water: symbol of the wasting famine that has spread to every corner of a drought-plagued land

World

ETHIOPIA

The Land of the Dead

Emergency relief arrives, but the starving continue to pour in

The round hut, made of roughhewn wood posts and a conical thatched roof, is known as *zawya*. In the Afar language, that means the house of the dead. Although it is not long after dawn, 26 bodies have already been wrapped in filthy burlap shrouds on the earthen floor. The air is sickly sweet with the smell of decay. Inside, in accordance with Muslim custom, Hussein Yussuf is tenderly washing the shriveled body of a three-year-old boy. "This is the first water this child has had for a long, long time," says the 60-year-old man. In the past four weeks, Yussuf, known as *Jenaza-atabi* (Cleaner of the dead), has washed 400 bodies, and, he says, "the numbers keep going up." After he has finished his sad task, Yussuf lifts up the wasted corpse and lays it on a bed of fresh eucalyptus leaves. Then Sheikh Ali Hassan says last

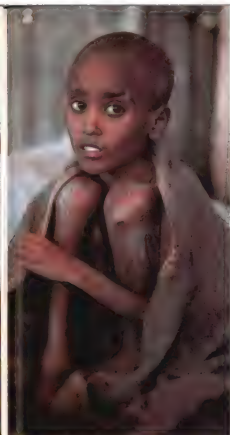
rites and prays for the departed soul.

All around the house of the dead, in a refugee camp in the small northern Ethiopian town of Bati, more than 25,000 starving people huddled together last week. Some 210 miles away there was a similar scene of destitution around the 9,000 famished people who crowded into the Quiha camp. Shrouded in a pall of woodsmoke, their new home looked like a medieval battlefield. The parched, scabrous earth was pockmarked with foxholes in which hundreds upon hundreds of families crouched for shelter against the chill mountain wind. The lucky ones had a branch to cover their dugout; others remained exposed to the elements. As soon as a foreign visitor appeared, the emaciated people took him for a doctor, crowded around and clutched at his trousers and cling to his legs, pleading for help. Half

crazy for food, they trampled each other and knocked down their flimsy shelters in their rush to get to the foreigner.

The wind whipped across the dry, brown plains, and a man, naked in his hole save for a flea-infested blanket, died. So too did an old woman covered with flies. A man named Abigurney, who had already lost three children, was asked how many had died in his village. "Too many for me to count," he replied.

There are too many to count. At Bati and Quiha and more than 100 other refugee camps in Ethiopia run by international organizations like the Red Cross, famine relief has begun to pour in. But throughout the country, at least 6 million people live at the brink of starvation. Relief workers expect that almost a million Ethiopians may die this year alone in what could become "the worst human di-



Sad-eyed, underfed, huddled against the cold



At a camp for orphans, a starving young girl bends under the weight of her sorrows

sister in recent history." After ten years of drought and civil war, twelve of the country's 14 provinces have been laid waste by a famine of biblical proportions. More than 40% of the country's 42 million people are malnourished, and 2.2 million have left their homes to wander in search of food.

For two years, appeals for aid from relief organizations and the Ethiopian government of Lieut. Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam largely fell on deaf ears. Then, last month, the British Broadcasting Corp. televised and distributed footage that showed piles of dying babies and row upon row of fly-covered corpses. The Western world was electrified. Both British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke were said to have broken into tears at the sight. Overnight, individuals, international charities and governments began pouring in money and supplies at record-breaking rates.

But the response is too little, and tardy. "It is more than 18 months too late," said Mohammed Amin, the Nairobi-based cameraman whose pictures finally aroused the world. "Why did it have to wait for a ten-minute TV film to awaken public sympathy?" Nor does the torrent of short-term support by any means guarantee true relief for the country's long-term difficulties. Without a program of Western support sustained over the next few months,

said James Ingram, executive director of the World Food Program, "what is already becoming a chronic and perennial state of emergency will become a quite intractable problem. To me this is the biggest challenge facing the international community over the next few years."

The woes of Ethiopia being brought home last week to television viewers in the West are all too familiar to some 30 other African nations. More than 150 million people on the African continent are threatened by starvation. Chad, for example, has been suffering through a drought that is proportionally worse than Ethiopia's. In Mozambique, years of drought were followed by a hurricane and widespread floods, and guerrilla warfare has prevented aid from reaching the needy. The continent-wide tragedy has been compounded as Africans, whose crops have withered or whose farms have, quite literally, been blown away, have streamed into areas already overcrowded or afflicted with disease and malnutrition. So many refugees from Ethiopia and Chad have flooded into the Sudan that the nation, once expected to become the breadbasket of the Arab world, now cannot feed 2.5 million of its people.

Although it gave short shrift to the agonies of other African countries, the sudden press coverage of a starving Ethiopia did succeed in sparking a serious response

around the world. Stirred by eight full-color pages of withered bodies in *Stern*, the nation's largest illustrated newsweekly, West German citizens sent floods of support to local relief agencies. Meanwhile, in Britain, where the television footage was shown first, the international relief organization Oxfam harvested an unprecedented yield of cash for so short a period. Within three hours of telecasting the pictures of Ethiopia, WGBZ-TV in Boston prompted a record-breaking 900 pledges of support for Oxfam America. Indeed, from a fund-raising rice lunch by housewives in Lawrence, Kans., to a money-raising fast involving 3,000 undergraduates at Harvard, Americans across the nation endeavored to assist the dying Ethiopians.

Governments pitched in with equal fervor. West Germany donated more than \$6 million in aid. Italy promised to build a hospital in Ethiopia's Mekele province, and Canada and Australia contributed tens of thousands of tons of grain. Still, much more is needed.

In Washington, as elsewhere, politics and compassion often collided. The U.S. has been the most generous benefactor of all foreign nations, contributing \$97.5 million in food aid to Marxist-Leninist Ethiopia since Oct. 1 alone. Last Friday, M. Peter McPherson, administrator of the Agency for International Development, said that the U.S. is sending Ethio-



Not far from the house of the dead, a woman in Bati comforts her starving child



Mothers grieve, above, while survivors stand in dawn guard over the dead



85,000 more tons of food, worth \$37.5 million. But Washington remains cautious about providing long-term development aid. Earlier this year, Congress killed an economic-policy initiative that would have provided Africa with \$75 million for development next year. Why? The Administration had insisted that the money go only to governments that reject socialism.

Many critics in Washington charge that Ethiopia's government has withheld food from rebel-occupied areas or simply misdirected government funds. While hundreds of thousands starved, Ethiopian officials spent more than \$100 million sprucing up their capital and erecting triumphal arches for September's tenth anniversary of the military coup that overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie.

Nor has Mengistu's political allies seemed greatly concerned about the wasting drought. As recently as last month, according to local sources, when Ethiopia appealed to its East European allies for aid, it was flatly turned down. The Soviets reportedly even warned that Mengistu should not use military equipment for relief work until he had finished paying for it. Stung, perhaps, by the outpouring of concern from the West, the Soviets have sent Ethiopia more than 400 trucks, 16 planes and 24 helicopters. But Moscow was having problems explaining away its client state's need for aid. The government newspaper *Izvestiya* ascribed the famine not to drought "but to the colonial structure of agriculture imposed on Ethiopia." The flood of Western aid was, claimed the paper, nothing more than an expression of imperialist guilt.

Getting food into Ethiopia is only half the problem. A moonscape scarred with treacherous canyons and inhospitable mountains, the country is a logistical nightmare. Half its people live a two-day walk from the nearest road. There are only about 6,000 trucks in the entire country, and, so far, no more than a few hundred of them have been used for relief. Even now some villages have water but no food, the refugee camps food but no water. In Bati, which became the country's most death-ridden camp last week, new arrivals kept flowing in faster than supplies. "We are getting more than a thousand refugees a day," said Sigridur Gudmundsdottir, a Red Cross nurse from Iceland. "We are barely holding our own."

In Bati last week more than 1,000 women and children were packed together in one tin-roofed shed. An eerie silence hung over the entire assembly. In one corner Janet Harris, a British nurse, was feeding vitamin- and salt-enriched water to children too weak to help themselves. It was a dispiriting, and often futile, task. "You can tell who will live and who will die," she said. "The dying ones have no light left in their eyes."

The Intensive Feeding Center, as the shed is known, was restricted to those children who were 70% below normal

weight for their age. They were given pink wristbands and fed four times a day. Those children who were just a little further from death were given red bands and taken to a second shed to be fed twice a day. The doors to both sheds had to be guarded at all times against the crush of hungry people desperate to gain entry. But even the thousands who squatted outside on the excrement-splattered ground could consider themselves lucky. "The ones who make it to this camp are the strong ones," said Miles Harris, a British doctor. "The other 80% are dying up in the hills, too weak to move."

Despite such harrowing assessments, some encouraging developments began last week to suggest that the relief pipeline was growing more effective. The country's main port, Assab, where supplies had been fatally logjammed last month, began processing shipments at ten times its former capacity. Two elderly but effective British Hercules transport planes shuttled supplies between the capital and the devastated areas. The government also waived handling charges on all ships and planes bringing relief. Yet even if all of Ethiopia's food needs were met, it seemed unlikely that more than 20% of those gripped by famine could be reached before they died.

More important, there is wide agreement by specialists that Ethiopia's agricultural plight could be reversed only by a program of sustained, substantial and intense long-term assistance. However much aid is shipped into the country during the next year, more will be needed to help Ethiopia, and its neighbors, return to productive harvests. Many officials assume that the present torrent of sympathy will subside quickly as memories of the TV footage begin to fade and world attention turns to other matters. The results would be grim.

Even while supply planes raise huge clouds of dust in the bleak landscape, small groups of skeletal figures continue to make long, hobbling journeys to the relief camps. Most of them are little more than bones covered with skin, their faces reduced to huge-eyed skulls. By night, when the temperature can drop into the 40s, they huddle close together in their foxholes; by day, they sit in tiny squatting areas marked off by stones, their meager possessions arranged around them. When shipments of food arrive, local officials, armed with long staves, round up survivors and hand out a few pounds of flour or cereal.

Almost as fast as the newcomers arrive, others depart. Each day in Quiha, grieving parents wrap the bodies of their children in burlap parcels tied with string and carry them to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in the neighboring village. There, as priests under bright umbrellas chant ageless prayers, the tiny bodies are placed in a long trench. And each dusk in Bati, when the sun burns red and fierce, four men carry bodies from the house of the dead up a steep hill to their common grave.

—By Pico Iyer. Reported by James Wilde/Bati, with other bureaus



Haunted by an eerie silence, the camps resemble a medieval battlefield



A little food trickles in, as planes from East and West visit the rainless land



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World



Soldiers dig in against the much announced "Yanqui invasion" alongside a Soviet-made tank

NICARAGUA

Broadsides in a War of Nerves

Washington and the Sandinistas take turns crying wolf

Once again the familiar tremors swept through Nicaragua. In the streets of Managua, the capital, dozens of Soviet-made T-55 tanks clattered into defensive positions. Antiaircraft crews manned their batteries, while zealous neighborhood defense committees scurried to dig air-raid trenches. Some 20,000 volunteer coffee pickers were reassigned to local militia units as the Sandinista government announced a "state of alert" affecting the country's 100,000-member military and security forces. For the third time in two years, the Sandinistas were loudly convinced—or so they said—that U.S. troops were about to invade their soil.

Most Nicaraguans, however, remained calm. Despite the government's repeated alarms, residents of Managua

made their way to work as usual on the city's overcrowded buses. Schoolchildren played outdoors, even gathering in clusters around the squat, forbidding tanks. Occasionally the civic mood was shattered by a sonic boom, which the government attributed to high-flying U.S. SR-71 spy planes violating Nicaraguan airspace. Despite the noisy interruptions, few Nicaraguans seemed concerned about the putative Yanqui invasion.

A similar case of schizophrenia seemed to be afflicting the Reagan Administration. At a meeting of the 31-member Organization of American States in Brasilia, Secretary of State George Shultz pooh-poohed the Nicaraguan war hysteria as "self-induced... based on nothing." Said he: "Obviously they're trying to whip

up their own population. But I can't imagine what the reason is for doing that." Then Shultz provided a possible answer. The U.S., he said in reference to Nicaragua's Soviet-sponsored arms buildup, was "trying to work in any way we can to cast this aggressive and subversive influence out of our hemisphere."

At the State Department and the Pentagon, those sentiments were stated more sharply. Even as U.S. officials repeatedly denied any aggressive intentions toward Nicaragua, they continued to issue stern warnings about the Central American republic's military buildup, especially the possible acquisition by the Sandinistas of high-performance Soviet-bloc aircraft. The U.S., said Pentagon Spokesman Michael Burch, would "provide whatever assistance is necessary" to protect its hemispheric interests. Did that include military intervention? Said Burch: "I'm not willing to include or exclude anything."

The superpower and the minipower had different motives for cranking up the mutual war of nerves. In the wake of President Reagan's election victory, Washington seemed intent on setting what one official called "the limits of U.S. tolerance" toward Marxist-led Nicaragua. After their somewhat less than democratic election triumph on Nov. 4, the Sandinistas seemed determined to keep building up their arsenal as rapidly as possible. Neither stance boded particularly well for the process of negotiated peace in the region, which both sides claim to support.

The latest spasms arose, ironically enough, from a false alarm. On Election Day, someone in the U.S. Government leaked word, based on sketchy and unconfirmed spy-satellite information, that crated Soviet MiG-21 interceptors were about to be unloaded at Nicaragua's Pacific port of Corinto from the Soviet freighter *Bakuriani*. The U.S. has long warned Nicaragua that the arrival of MiG-21s or similar fighters would be "unacceptable," since such weapons would upset the regional balance of air power.

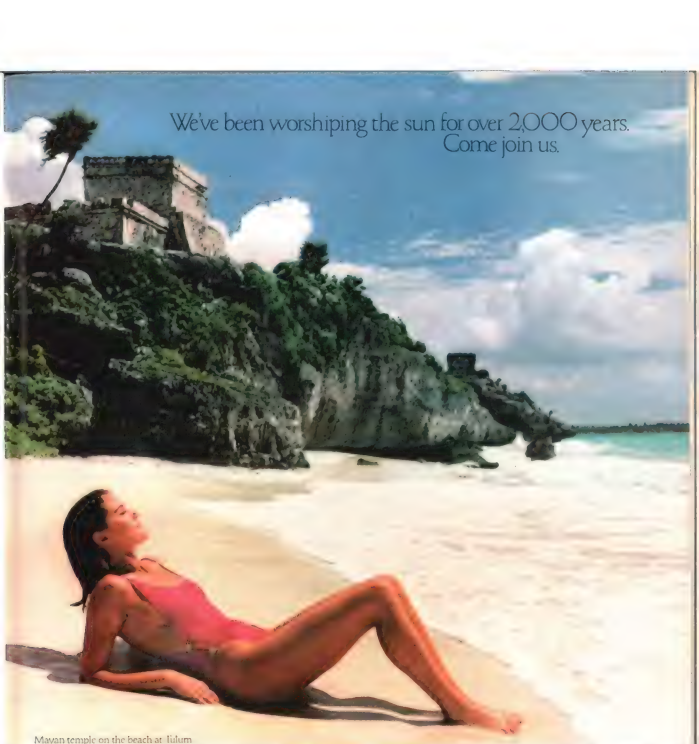
By the time the *Bakuriani* unloaded its crated cargo and returned to sea, Washington was persuaded that MiG-21s had not been delivered. One reason, indicated by Shultz, was a Soviet assurance to the contrary. Another was the information gleaned from the rash of U.S. spy-plane flights, more probably low-flying F-4 reconnaissance jets than the superfast, supersophisticated SR-71s claimed by the Sandinistas (no sonic boom from an SR-71 can be heard when the aircraft flies, as it can on spy missions, at an altitude of 15 miles or more).

The U.S. conclusion: Soviet-bloc ships, including the *Bakuriani*, have more than likely delivered SA-3 and SA-8 anti-aircraft missiles, advanced radar equipment that would complete Nicaragua's air-defense system, and a supply of MI-24 "Hind" helicopters. The choppers are heavily armed gunships that the Soviets use against rebellious tribesmen in Af-



Schoolchildren march to the U.S. embassy in Managua to protest American "aggression"

But most other Nicaraguans traveled to work as usual and remained calm.



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ghanistan; they are probably intended to flush out 6,000 of the U.S.-backed contra guerrillas, who have now moved permanently inside Nicaragua to carry on their hit-and-run war against the Sandinistas.

Nonetheless, the Pentagon kept up its threatening expressions of concern. Even without the MiG-21s, U.S. officials said, the arrival of the *Bakuriani* marked the first time the Soviets had sent weapons to Nicaragua under their own flag, rather than through such surrogates as Cuba or Bulgaria. U.S. military officials said last week that four more Soviet and East-bloc freighters were on their way to Nicaragua, without saying when the ships would arrive, or where. Said Pentagon Spokesman Burch: "Nicaragua has now armed itself to a greater degree or in quantities far greater than any of its neighbors, or even a coalition of its neighbors."

The Sandinista buildup is indeed impressive. Nicaragua's regular army and mobilized reserves now total 62,000, more than the armies of nearby El Salvador and Honduras combined. The U.S. estimates that Nicaragua has 150 tanks and 200 other armored vehicles, 200 antiaircraft guns and 300 missile launchers, in addition to perhaps 18 of the fearsome Hinds. By contrast, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras combined have 53 tanks and 104 armored vehicles; none of them is any advanced missile system. Neighboring Costa Rica has only a poorly equipped 9,800-member civil guard.

The Pentagon, moreover, maintains that the Sandinistas still want the MiGs and intend to get them. U.S. military officials also charged that five airfields are either currently receiving improvements or under construction in Nicaragua; at least one of them might be used for stopovers by Soviet long-range Backfire bombers. Bases in Nicaragua, says a Pentagon official, "would enormously facilitate Soviet reconnaissance flights over America's West Coast."

The emphasis on that argument is rela-



Army Commander Humberto Ortega Saavedra

tively new. In the past, the Administration has more often justified its actions in Central America by stressing that the Sandinistas were shipping arms to insurgents in El Salvador. The U.S. has also pointed to signs of creeping totalitarianism in Nicaragua, as the Marxist-led regime has curbed press freedom, expropriated the property of private entrepreneurs and built a pervasive security apparatus with the aid of Cuban and East German advisers.

The switch in reasoning seemed to reflect the Administration's recurring tendency to speak with different voices about Nicaragua. Privately, some Pentagon sources attributed the hyping of concern over the *Bakuriani* and its cargo to officials at the White House and National Security Council. The State Department also expressed frustration over the way the MiG issue had materialized: on his way to the OAS meeting, Shultz characterized the original leak as "a criminal act."

For his part, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger coolly deplored the "hysteria" that had arisen over the incident, even as the Pentagon provided the varying rationales for U.S. unhappiness with the Sandinistas.

The same fractiousness is evident in the Administration's solutions for Central America. Hard-liners in Washington, including CIA Director William Casey and U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, seem to believe that in the long run it is impossible to deal with the Sandinistas. They would prefer to see the Managua regime ousted from power, although any action by the U.S. toward that end is expressly forbidden by a 1982 resolution of Congress. More moderate officials, including Shultz, believe that diplomacy can play a role in curbing Nicaragua's radical tendencies. In their view, the U.S. must show that it has the power and the will to halt the spread of Communism, but that should be balanced by a willingness to negotiate a regional settlement.

Thus, as the Nicaragua debate continues to percolate within the Administration, the U.S. tends to pick and choose among different reasons for confronting the Sandinistas. Among the hard-liners, the latest outcry may have the ultimate aim of restoring shattered congressional support for the rebellious *contras*. That prospect, however, has grown even less likely in the wake of the controversy over a CIA-drafted counterinsurgency manual (see box). Among moderates, the hope is to force the Sandinistas to accept a version of the so-called Contadora peace process that will adequately guarantee security and democracy in the region.

For their part, the Sandinistas are intensely concerned about U.S. activity in the area. Up to 1,000 U.S. military personnel are involved in seven separate regional exercises. The U.S. contingents include about 120 Army engineers who are building roads near Honduras' Palmerola Air Force Base, a company of infantry-

Skirmishes Over a Primer

The infamous CIA manual on guerrilla warfare might have been written with the jungles of Nicaragua in mind, but its chief effect so far has been to provoke conflict in Washington. Last week skirmishes were raging not only between the Reagan Administration and Capitol Hill but within the CIA. Five middle-level agency officials, targeted to be disciplined for their part in drafting the contentious primer, said they were being used as scapegoats. Congressional critics charged that the five were victims of a cover-up designed to protect senior officials, notably CIA Director William J. Casey, who has supervised the covert assistance to anti-Sandinista *contras*.

The latest flap began when President Reagan received the disciplinary recommendation from the CIA's inspector general. Reagan had ordered the internal investigation amid a continuing clamor over sections of the manual that advocated the "neutralization" of local Nicaraguan officials. Critics seized upon that term as a code word for assassination. Furthermore, they charged, the manual shows that the CIA is

violating a 1982 congressional amendment barring it from engaging in any activity aimed at overthrowing the Sandinistas. Reagan responded with the credibility-straining explanation that the word neutralization meant nothing more than "you just say to the fellow that's sitting there in the office, 'You're not in the office any more.'"

The White House blamed the manual on a single, "low-level" contract operative, identified pseudonymously as John Kirkpatrick. The still secret inspector general's report apparently suggested that Kirkpatrick resign, two employees be suspended without pay and three others receive formal letters of reprimand. New York Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan compared the disciplinary measures with canceling "weekend privileges for a month."

Both the Senate and the House Intelligence Committees are expected to reopen their investigation of the guerrilla manual in early December. Some legislators even want to see the matter referred to the Justice Department. Says Democratic Congressman Norman Mineta of California: "The CIA and the President owe us some answers, and the inspector general's report fails to give them."

World

men patrolling near the same site, and a dozen servicemen who assisted at a Salvadoran-Honduran naval exercise that ended last week. Most of the recent arrivals are early harbingers of a major U.S. joint exercise with Honduras known as Big Pine III, which will take place sometime after the first of the year. Previous Big Pine maneuvers have involved upwards of 5,000 U.S. servicemen.

In addition, a U.S. naval group of some 25 vessels, including the battleship *Iowa*, has just finished amphibious maneuvers near Roosevelt Roads in Puerto Rico, where the aircraft carrier *Nimitz* is also steaming. While none of the exercises are directed at Nicaragua, Humberto Ortega Saavedra, Commander of the national army, voices typical Nicaraguan suspicion. Says he: "A powerful country like the U.S. has the luxury of threatening and then not following through. A country like Nicaragua can't ignore the threat."

In fact, crying wolf has some practical benefits for the Sandinistas. It draws international attention away from the nine-man National Directorate's continued stranglehold on power at home, despite the claims of pluralism attached to Nicaragua's much heralded elections.* The country's opposition politicians had hoped to discuss the distribution of power, among other issues, in a series of "national dialogue" meetings with the Sandinistas in Managua. Instead, the Sandinistas have tried to turn some of the dialogue meetings into propaganda sessions condemning U.S. "aggression." Says Enrique Bolaños Geyer, head of the Nicaraguan private enterprise group known as COSEP: "Fine, let's condemn aggression. But what about national problems?"

No problem is more serious for Nicaragua than its palsied economy. For the third consecutive year, the country is suffering a major trade deficit, projected to reach \$400 million in 1984. Servicing the \$3.5 billion foreign debt this year is expected to take all of Nicaragua's \$400 million in export earnings. The regime has already missed one payment on about \$7 million in loans to the World Bank. Says a European diplomat in Managua: "The real danger here is not an invasion, it's the real possibility of the country going bankrupt. It's close to the brink now."

The burdens of constant military mobilization are adding rapidly to those conditions. This year, the Sandinistas are expected to spend \$500 million to keep 100,000 Nicaraguans under arms. That is about 25% of the national budget. "They can't take four more years of this," notes a sympathetic diplomat. "The comandantes know this." If so, they are not showing it. —By George Russell, Reported by Ricardo Chavira/Managua and Bruce van Voorst/Washington

*Final results were announced last week: the Sandinistas received 63% of the 1.17 million votes cast, winning 61 seats in a new, 96-member National Assembly.



An eerie reminder: soldiers use a soccer field to hold slum dwellers rounded up in last week's raids

CHILE

State of Siege

Pinochet cracks down hard

The troops struck promptly at dawn. Supported by spotter helicopters and armored cars, up to 1,500 soldiers dressed in combat gear cordoned off La Victoria, a slum on the southern outskirts of Santiago that houses some 50,000 poor and unemployed. They searched and in some cases ransacked the ramshackle dwellings in a hunt for weapons and "subversive" literature. "Remain calm," the troops blared through loudspeakers. "Anyone who leaves his home will be taken as an agitator."

Within seven hours, they had rounded up 7,000 men and led them, handcuffed or with hands behind their heads, to dark green military buses that took them to a nearby soccer stadium for interrogation. The scene was an eerie reminder of the mass arrests that occurred in the wake of the coup that brought General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, 68, to power in 1973, which has been depicted in the 1982 film *Missing*. Although the majority of those rounded up last week were later released, at least 227 remained in detention along with 312 others banished for 90 days to remote camps for "internal exiles."

It was the second major raid since Pinochet declared a "state of siege" on Nov. 6. The measure, adopted for the first time since 1978, came in response to a rash of bombings, labor strikes and street protests, which have become a regular feature of Chilean life since May 1983. It allows the authorities to ban all public meetings, make mass arrests, impose censorship and send the secret police rampaging through the offices of political parties and unions.



Augusto Pinochet

In addition, the Rev. Ignacio Gutiérrez, a Spanish-born Roman Catholic priest who heads the Vicariate of Solidarity, the most active human-rights organization, had his visa lifted and was permanently banned from returning to Chile after a conference in Rome.

Even though harsh crackdowns had occurred under previous, less embracing "emergencies," the most recent raids were more extensive. The government's stated aim was to pack off criminals who have joined forces with political activists in the slums. But the actual purpose was to spread a climate of fear among slum dwellers, who provide the biggest manpower pool for antigovernment protests: about 70% of the men in slums like La Victoria are unemployed.

Ripples caused by the state of siege are still spreading. In Washington, U.S. Army Chief of Staff General John A. Wickham Jr. reportedly canceled a visit to Chile to sign the Reagan Administration's unhappiness with the measure. In Santiago, Archbishop Juan Francisco Fresno, a conservative who has become increasingly vocal as the Pinochet regime has become more repressive, drafted a six-page pastoral letter that was scheduled to be read Sunday to some 500,000 faithful in 244 parishes. It included a call for a 24-hour period of fasting and prayer on Nov. 23, four days before opposition parties, unions and business groups plan two days of national protest.

"I want to be prudent, but I will not be a coward," Fresno wrote in the letter. "Wherever we are, at home or in the factory, in the slums, in the school or university, all of us must pray in silence and also talk about what we can do to build peace in Chile, based on truth, love and justice." With the press and the opposition muzzled, the church remains one of the few open channels of redress. —By Harter R. Clark, Reported by Gavin Scott/Santiago

BRITAIN

Bloody Strike

Miners' fury brings anguish

As the bloody confrontation between militants of the 180,000-member National Union of Mineworkers and the state-owned National Coal Board entered its 36th week, the most disruptive labor unrest the country has witnessed since the General Strike of 1926 was no longer just a power struggle between miners and mine managers over the issue of unproductive collieries. Instead, with economic losses mounting and with television providing scenes of charging mounted police and rock-throwing strikers, the dispute had become a national trauma.

Although some of the most dramatic

London, Scargill unabashedly made a similar appeal for assistance at the Soviet embassy. TASS said that Soviet miners have contributed half a million pounds to the British miners' union. The strike was also weakened by last month's decision of the smaller mine safety supervisors' union not to join the N.U.M. walkout. If the supervisors had struck, all of Britain's 174 coal mines would have been shut down, including those that have been operating during the strike.

Meanwhile, the coal board has reminded strikers of the prospects of up to \$1,764 in wages and back holiday pay by Christmas for miners who return to work by the beginning of this week. For striking miners who have lost an average \$7,500 each, the reminder was a shrewd ploy. In contrast to the 200 miners a week who had been returning to their pits by late



Police arrest a striker in last week's Yorkshire battles

fighting yet between strikers and police broke out last week around mines in Yorkshire. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher remained uncompromising. Addressing the Lord Mayor of London's annual banquet, she declared, "This challenge will not succeed. The government will hold firm." The Catholic bishops of England and Wales, however, were sympathetic to the miners in their first statement on the strike. N.U.M. President Arthur Scargill, speaking in the southern Wales town of Aberavon, was cheered wildly by an audience of over 4,000 when he condoned violence on the picket line. "I am not prepared to condemn the actions of my members whose only crime is fighting for the right to work," said Scargill. At the same meeting, the Trades Union Congress's new general secretary, Norman Willis, bravely declared "the brick, the bolt or the petrol bomb" as weapons detrimental to the miners' cause. He was jeered with savage shouts of "Off! Off! Off!"

To most observers of the long-running strike, the psychological advantage appeared to be tilting toward the coal board. One reason was the disclosure late last month that the N.U.M. had sought financial assistance from...of all sources, Libyan Leader Muammar Gaddafi. Last week in

October, more than 7,000 men have returned over the past two weeks.

To date the conflict has cost 60 million tons in lost coal production. And with some 125,000 miners still out, the strike is far from over. In Yorkshire last week, strikers overturned and wrecked automobiles, hurled gasoline bombs at a police car and a police station for the first time. Thirty-five policemen were injured and 45 strikers arrested.

But the beginning of the end of the trouble appears to be at hand, and assessments of the emotional losses have begun to be tallied. Perhaps the most eloquent statement on the damage to the national psyche came last week from the 90-year-old Earl of Stockton, who as Harold Macmillan was Prime Minister from 1957 to 1963. Bent with age and leaning on a silver-topped cane, he rose from a red leather bench in the House of Lords to deliver his maiden speech to a hushed, expectant house. Referring to the strike, he said, "It breaks my heart to see what is happening to our country today. This terrible strike is being carried on by the best men in the world. They beat the Kaiser's army and Hitler's army. They never gave in. The strike is pointless and endless. We cannot afford action of this kind." ■

THE GULF

Making Up

The U.S. and Iraq renew ties

To Iraq, the U.S. was the worst of imperialists, a country run by Zionists and hypocrites. To Washington, Iraq was an international menace, second only to Libya as a haven for terrorists. Yet despite the two governments' name-calling and mutual suspicion throughout the 1970s, a tentative courtship between the Reagan Administration and the regime of Saddam Hussein has been quietly blossoming in recent years. Now the two countries are about to resume diplomatic relations, broken off by Iraq during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

According to Administration sources, the resumption of ties will be effected next week, when Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz meets in Washington with President Reagan. Washington officials believe Iraq's four-year war with Iran has been the incentive for Baghdad to move closer to the U.S. Says one U.S. diplomat: "They have now made it clear they can defend themselves by themselves, so this would be the proper moment to go ahead and re-establish ties with us."

Washington will maintain its public position of neutrality in the Iraq-Iran conflict: it has had no diplomatic relations with Iran since ties were broken in 1980 during the hostage crisis. At best, recognition of Iraq will create a *de facto* axis linking Washington, Baghdad and Moscow, which is Iraq's ally, that could help bring Iran to the bargaining table.

Saddam Hussein, to strengthen his hand further against Iran, has taken delivery from France since midsummer of 28 new Mirage F1 fighter-bombers. The planes, with a range of more than 600 miles, are equipped to fire French-made Exocet missiles. In September, France airlifted 150 of the missiles to Iraq's Habaniya air force base. When pilots for the fighters have been trained, Iraq is expected to step up its attacks on ships departing from Iran's main oil terminal at Kharg Island. Baghdad's off-stated goal is to cut off Iran's oil exports, which has hitherto been impossible to achieve with its meager fleet of three Super Etendard fighters.

There are signs, however, that Iraq is suffering from internal divisions. According to rumors in Baghdad, last August the government uncovered a military plot to end the war by killing Saddam Hussein in a bomb attack. There are indications that mass executions followed.

Iran, whose major condition for peace has been Saddam Hussein's ouster, is also feeling the pinch of the stagnant conflict. In an effort to placate the populace, which is becoming increasingly unhappy with stringent wartime economic conditions, the Supreme Judicial Council two weeks ago designated special courts to try corrupt government officials and businessmen. Seventeen offenders are already on trial, with scores more expected to follow. ■

World



Lineup at the parade: Chernenko waves to the crowd



Rising Star Mikhail Gorbachev, right, chats with Andrei Gromyko

SOVIET UNION

Out of Action

Ustinov misses a parade

With each passing year the Nov. 7 parade before a lineup of Kremlin leaders atop the Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square has come to resemble a mystery play rather than a military pageant. Leonid Brezhnev died only three days after he made a faltering appearance in biting weather in 1982. His ailing successor, the late Yuri Andropov, gave hints of his imminent demise when he failed to show up

for last year's ceremony. This year it was Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov who was missing. Questioned by a Western reporter, Politburo Member Viktor Grishin allowed that Ustinov, who has not been seen in public since September, was suffering from a "sore throat." U.S. analysts did not believe Ustinov was dying, but, as one Washington Kremlinologist put it, "colds in the U.S.S.R. tend to be fatal."

There were unconfirmed reports that the 76-year-old Defense Minister was indeed seriously ill, perhaps suffering from a liver disease or felled by a stroke. Western analysts believe that Warsaw Pact Commander Viktor Kulikov, 63, is the most

plausible contender to succeed him. One civilian thought to be in the running is Grigori Romanov, 61, the former Lenin-grad party chief who joined the Central Committee Secretariat last year.

In a speech to the Politburo last week, Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko called for an increase in his country's defense capability. Then, in answers to written questions submitted by NBC News Correspondent Marvin Kalb, Chernenko suddenly appeared more conciliatory. If Washington is sincere about arms-limitation talks, he said, "we could, at last, start moving toward more normal relations between our two countries." ■

Coming Home

Two American television crews were lying in wait outside the exclusive Sovietskaya Hotel last week, when the frumpy woman in fur hat and buttoned-up coat appeared in the company of a burly escort. Since Joseph Stalin's daughter Svetlana Alliluyeva, 58, returned to Moscow last month after 17 years in exile in the West, she has been playing hide-and-seek with Western reporters. She reacted in anger to the latest ambush. "I am not going to talk to you, not one word," she snapped. "You have no right. You are uncivilized people. You are savages." When asked about Olga Peters, her 13-year-old American-born daughter, she responded with a string of obscenities.

Last Friday, Svetlana abruptly paid the price of her return ticket to the U.S.S.R. when she appeared before 25 Soviet and Western journalists at the Moscow headquarters of the Committee of Soviet Women. Reading from a prepared text, she said that she had returned to Moscow of her own free will. "I could no longer stand this family separation," she explained, referring to the two chil-

dren by former marriages, Josef Morozov, now 38, and Yekaterina Zhdanova, 32, she had left behind in Moscow. She said she had been naive about life in the U.S. and had become a "favorite pet" of the CIA. Said Svetlana: "I was not free for a single day."

At the request of Svetlana's former husband, American Architect William

Wesley Peters, the U.S. embassy in Moscow has pressed the Soviets for assurances that the couple's daughter Olga willingly went to Moscow with her mother. Svetlana dismissed the inquiry, noting that "as long as she is a schoolgirl, she will act according to my wishes." Olga speaks no Russian, and reportedly her mother wants to enroll her in a special English-language school.

Two other Soviet defectors decided to return home last week. Igor Rykhov, 22, and Oleg Khlan, 21, who had deserted from their military unit in Afghanistan and found their way to Britain, turned themselves in to the Soviet embassy in London, and two days later were back in Moscow. British officials said that they had grown homesick after receiving letters from their families.



Svetlana scowls at reporters

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"As I have loved you."

"Love
one another."



"And bring
each other home."

"Care for each
other."



"Love one another
as I have loved you.
And care for each
other,
as I have cared for you.
Bear one another's
burdens.
Share each other's joys.
And love one another,
love one another.
And bring each other
home."

(Verses from the song "Love One
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World Notes

THE PHILIPPINES

Murder in Broad Daylight

So commonplace is violence in the southern Mindanao seaport of Zamboanga City that Mayor César Climaco, 68, tallied the killings on a billboard outside the municipal hall. The mayor, a leading critic of the regime of President Ferdinand Marcos, last week became such a statistic himself as he was shot in broad daylight in the center of town. The assassin escaped. Inevitably, some Filipinos blamed the killing on the Marcos regime. During the past two months three opposition figures in the south have been murdered, and many suspect that right-wing military elements were involved.

Climaco had been a constant critic of the government's human rights abuses. When the President proclaimed martial law in 1972, he vowed not to cut his hair until "peace and democracy are restored," and his long white locks became his trademark. Marcos condemned the murder and ordered an investigation by the acting armed forces Chief of Staff Lieut. General Fidel Ramos. That did not appease the opposition. Said former Senator Salvador Laurel: "One by one our leaders are being killed or eliminated."



Mayor Climaco

CHAD

Yes They Are, No They Are Not

"Chad is once again in the hands of the Chadians," declared an exultant French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson last week. His claim—after a 15-month standoff in the sub-Saharan former French colony, both Libya and France had, by mutual agreement, withdrawn all their troops. But had they? "Substantial Libyan troops remain in Chad," snapped U.S. State Department Spokesman John Hughes. "The Libyan troops have completely withdrawn," reiterated a piqued Jean-Michel Baylet, the French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Countered Chad's President, Hissène Habré: "The Libyan aggression has not ceased. That is the truth."

Less than 24 hours later, French President François Mitterrand took off for the Greek island of Crete, and a surprise summit meeting with Libya's strongman, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. Back in Paris, Mitterrand was forced to admit that, no, the Libyans had not completed their pull-out and that approximately two battalions still remained. There seemed little doubt, as the Paris daily *Le Monde* put it, that the U.S. statement had "profoundly embarrassed the French authorities."



The French bid adieu to Libyans

MOROCCO

An Angry King Pulls Out

Secure behind a 750-mile-long desert wall of sand and rock, the armed forces of King Hassan II of Morocco have gained the upper hand in their almost nine-year struggle with the Marxist guerrillas of the Polisario Front for control of the 103,000-sq.-mi. Western Sahara, a former Spanish colony. Last week, however, Morocco suffered a major diplomatic defeat. During a four-day summit in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa, a majority of

the 50 states in the Organization of African Unity agreed for the first time to seat the Polisario Front as a full member. An angry Hassan responded by pulling his country out of the O.A.U., becoming the first member to do so in the organization's 21-year history. The King's sardonic parting shot was to wish the assembly "a good ride with your new partner."

The decision by the O.A.U.'s 50 member states must have given the King second thoughts about his own new partnership with Libyan Leader Muammar Gaddafi. Three months ago, in an effort to prevent such a decision and to end Libyan support for the Polisario Front, Hassan signed a surprise unity agreement with Gaddafi. But his new ally proved to be no friend in need; only Zaïre joined the Moroccan walkout.

INDIA

Rajiv Takes Charge

He gently scattered his slain mother's ashes into the thin Himalayan air from the open hatch of an Indian air force transport plane. Then Rajiv Gandhi, 40, returned to New Delhi last week and boldly took Indira Gandhi's place in the oak-paneled Prime Minister's office. His first official act was to assure his fellow citizens, via nationwide radio and television, that he would honor his mother's democratic, nonaligned policies. Rajiv then confidently called parliamentary elections for Dec. 24. One opposition candidate: Maneka Gandhi, 28, the widow of his younger brother Sanjay. The elections will be held in all states but Assam, where disputes over the voting rights of recent immigrants have erupted, and Punjab, which has been the scene of civil unrest.

Rajiv faces two daunting tasks: to quell the sectarian violence that surfaced most recently when Hindus turned upon Sikhs following Indira Gandhi's assassination, and to restore the integrity of his government, which is riddled with corruption. "Mr. Clean," as Rajiv is known by many supporters, did not waver. Said he: "No quarter will be given to the corrupt, the lazy or the inefficient."



Casting Indira's ashes to the winds

AFGHANISTAN

The Sorrow of Parting

The scene at Kabul airport was heartrending, according to one observer: parents and relatives were held at gunpoint behind police barricades, prevented from gathering their departing children in a final embrace. Amid tears and anguish, earlier this month some 370 Afghan children between the ages of seven and nine were herded aboard a Soviet airliner. Their destination: the Soviet Union, where for the next 15 to 20 years they will be put through a course of political indoctrination. According to Radio Kabul, the official voice of Afghan President Babrak Karmal's Soviet-backed regime, the children will be taught "Marxist-Leninist thinking, and an appreciation of the greatness of the Soviet state and the evils of imperialism."

Sources within the anti-Soviet Afghan resistance movement say that the children will join an estimated 16,000 to 20,000 Afghan youngsters who have been forcibly sent to the Soviet Union over the past four years. One Western diplomat in Islamabad, Pakistan, says that the Soviets, faced with widespread opposition in Afghanistan, "may have concluded that nothing short of Sovietization inside the U.S.S.R. would make much of an ideological dent in Afghan youth."

Economy & Business

Am I My Brother's Keeper?

A letter by Catholic bishops on U.S. capitalism whips up a storm of controversy

Feed the hungry. Clothe the naked. Shelter the homeless. With such biblical exhortations in mind, five U.S. Roman Catholic bishops have been examining American capitalism since 1981 to see how well it conforms to their church's social teaching. In Washington last week the group presented its long-awaited—and highly controversial—findings to the annual meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

In the first draft of a pastoral letter, the committee praised the "impressive strides" of the U.S. economy in providing goods and services, but condemned what it called the "massive and ugly" failures of the system. Among shortcomings that the bishops cited were a "morally unjustified" current rate of unemployment and "gross inequalities" of wealth and income. Write the bishops: "The fact that more than 15% of our nation's population live below the official poverty level is a social and moral scandal that must not be ignored." The letter notes that in 1982 the richest 20% of Americans earned nearly as much as the rest of the country's workers combined.

The 136-page draft, which was kept secret until after the presidential election so that it would not become a campaign issue, goes beyond simply noting the presence of the hungry at the feast of American affluence. The letter calls for an aggressive, Government-led attack on economic problems. Said Archbishop Rembert Weakland of Milwaukee, who chaired the committee that prepared the letter: "We want to appeal to the generosity, good will and concern of all U.S. citizens. Our point is: do not remain complacent at this point in history."

Highlights of the proposed pastoral:

Unemployment. In one of its most controversial passages, the letter urges "a major new policy commitment" to reduce joblessness from its present 7.4%, to 3% to 4%, a level not seen since the late 1960s. To achieve the goal, the draft proposes such measures as Government-funded jobs programs and expanded private training and apprenticeship efforts. It strongly supports unions and appeals for a strengthening of labor laws to protect workers.

Poverty. Noting that 9 million more Americans slipped under the poverty line between 1979 and 1983, which the Gov-



Conference President Malone leading a prayer at last week's gathering

ernment defined as cash income of \$10,178 for a family of four, the letter recommends, among other steps, beefed-up welfare programs and the removal of barriers to full and equal employment for women and minorities. It stresses the importance of a thriving economy to the creation of jobs.

Social Cooperation. The bishops' draft declares that "America needs a new experiment in cooperation and collaboration" among all sectors of the economy. Such partnerships, it says, could create

new jobs and promote community economic development.

International Affairs. The document endorses free trade and urges increased foreign aid. It notes that the U.S. is the largest single donor of economic assistance, but points out that "our nation lags behind most other industrial nations in the relative amount of aid we provide to the Third World." The letter specifically deplores a recent decline in US support for the World Bank's interest-free loan program.

The report comes at a time of growing involvement by members of the American

Catholic hierarchy in political and economic issues. Bishop James Malone of Youngstown, Ohio, the president of the bishops' conference, has been a strong supporter of such activity; he worked hard but unsuccessfully in the late 1970s to keep open the Youngstown Sheet and Tube mills in his diocese. More recently, Archbishops Bernard Law of Boston and John O'Connor of New York stepped into this year's election campaign by indicating that Catholics should consider a candidate's views on abortion before voting.

The conference of bishops' most dramatic incursion into public affairs prior to last week was a pastoral letter on nuclear war issued in May 1983. That document called for a halt on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons, as well as reductions in the number of existing arms.

After the bishops adopt the economic pastoral, probably next year, it will become a teaching document in schools and churches for 53 million U.S. Catholics. They will be free to argue with programs advocated by the statement, but not with



Pope John Paul II in Quebec during his September visit to Canada

its goal of fostering economic rights and human dignity. "In our view," the draft declares, "there can be no legitimate disagreement on the basic moral objective."

It is uncertain how much influence the letter will have on an increasingly independent-minded American Catholic laity. Says the Rev. Richard McBrien, chairman of the theology department at the University of Notre Dame, "Now that so many U.S. Catholics are in the manage-

ment class and enjoy a more positive economic situation, Catholic social teaching is no longer something perceived as supportive but as a challenge. Many Catholics in business and government will be among those challenged by this pastoral."

Indeed, a self-appointed group known as the Lay Commission on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy, headed by former Treasury Secretary William Simon and Social Philosopher Michael Novak, seems intent on engaging the bishops in a struggle for the soul of the U.S. church on this issue. Two weeks ago, the group, whose 31 members include former Secretary of State Alexander Haig and J. Peter Grace, chairman of W.R. Grace & Co., put out its own letter on economics. Said the 119-page document: "Poverty is not primarily a problem for the state. It is a personal and a community problem which each of us and all our appropriate associations, not only the state, ought to address."

The lay critics argue that the bishops' letter fails to acknowledge the power of American capitalism to create jobs and

Weakland at the Keyboard

Rembert George Weakland, 57, chairman of the bishops' committee on the U.S. economy, had an early personal experience with poverty. His father, a hotelkeeper in Patton, Pa., died in 1932, when Weakland was five. His mother, who had five other children, scratched by on welfare for years until she was able to go back to work as a schoolteacher. "To this day," Weakland says, "I can't look at brown corduroy knickers without getting sick, because if you were those WPA clothes everybody knew you were on welfare."

As a teen-ager, Weakland was torn between two vocations. After making a credible soloist's debut, performing Rachmaninoff's *Piano Concerto No. 2* with a local orchestra, he considered a musical career. Instead, he became a Benedictine monk at St. Vincent's Archabbey in Latrobe, Pa., in 1945. Nonetheless, he kept up his music, earning a master's degree in piano at New York City's Juilliard School and doing doctoral-level work in musicology at Columbia University. He also transcribed medieval works into modern notation for the *Play of Daniel*, a heralded music-drama introduced by the New York Pro Musica in 1958.

Weakland was elected archabbot of St. Vincent's at a youngish 36. Four years later he was chosen abbot primate of the Benedictine Federation, the Rome-based international coordinator for 220 monasteries with 10,000 priests and brothers.

In 1977 Weakland was appointed Archbishop of Milwaukee. Instead of holding a traditional welcoming banquet for parish priests and wealthy Roman Catholic laymen, Weakland had a dinner for the city's poor.



The archbishop and friend at a Milwaukee soup kitchen

He also sold his predecessor's mansion and moved into a modest apartment in the cathedral rectory. Its one luxury: a Mason & Hamlin grand piano, which he tries to play daily.

In Milwaukee, Weakland has protested police brutality against blacks, endorsed church sanctuary for refugees from Central America, and advocated equal rights for homosexuals. He not only gave nuns and laywomen key staff positions but also at one time mused openly about the theoretical possibility of women priests; that may be one reason he is now looked on with disquiet by some Vatican officials. When Pope John Paul II tried to dampen dissident U.S. theologians, Weakland remarked that the Pontiff "probably doesn't quite understand the American approach to pluralism."

After the bishops launched the economics project in 1980, Archbishop John Roach of St. Paul, who was then president of the hierarchy, gave Weakland the sensitive chairmanship because of his high standing among colleagues. The four other bishops who joined him: Atlanta's Thomas A. Donnellan, Peter Rosazza of Hartford, Conn., George H. Speltz of St. Cloud, Minn., and William Weigand of Salt Lake City.

Admittedly no expert in economics, Weakland prepped himself by poring over college economics textbooks and works by Adam Smith, John Maynard Keynes and John Kenneth Galbraith. Unveiling the first draft for reporters last week, Weakland said he hopes the eventual document "will challenge our Catholics to realize that religion isn't a Sunday-morning thing, that it's something that permeates all of their decision making." To those who dislike the preliminary text, he jokingly proposed a lesson from his town's most famous business: "In Milwaukee, for us the first draft is always the sign of better things to come."

Economy & Business

paths out of poverty. Instead, they contend, the prelates call for Government solutions that already have been tried and found wanting. Said Novak: "In a document that's supposed to be antistatist, it's amazing how many passages are from a statist framework." Adds Simon: "What we need is a larger pie, not a redistribution of the existing one. We threw a trillion dollars at poverty, and we have more poverty now than ever before."

In preparing the draft, the bishops heard from some 125 experts, ranging from theologians to business and labor leaders. Their testimony sometimes



William Simon's group offered its own epistle
"We threw a trillion dollars at poverty."

strongly influenced the letter. For example, committee members had been leaning toward a call for strong Government economic planning before hearing that approach sharply criticized by Marina von Neumann Whitman, chief economist for General Motors. After Whitman spoke, one panelist said, "Well, there goes the emphasis on central planning."

The bishops turned for advice to outside consultants and a four-member staff. Monsignor George Higgins, a lecturer in theology at Catholic University of America and an outspoken social activist, helped shape the group's position on labor. Staff Member Thomas Quigley, a lay specialist in Latin American affairs, played a role in the international section of the letter. Insiders say, however, that no single person was responsible for the document's overall tone or content.

The letter is the latest in a long series of Catholic pronouncements on economic questions. Beginning with Pope Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, which stressed the right of individuals to a living wage, the church has consistently called for improvements in the lot of workers. In 1919 the American bishops put forth a Program for Social Reconstruction that urged the establishment of a minimum wage, social security and un-

employment insurance. Pope John Paul II's 1981 encyclical *Laborem Exercens* decried what he considered the tendency of unregulated capitalism to reduce workers to the status of instruments of production.

The bishops' proposed pastoral is actually more conservative than some of John Paul's statements on economics. Last September in Edmonton, Alta., the Pope denounced the gap between rich northern countries and poor southern ones. Said he: "The poor people and poor nations—poor in different ways, not only lacking food but also deprived of freedom and other human rights—will judge those people who take these goods away from them, amassing to themselves the imperialistic monopoly of economic and political supremacy at the expense of others." In the Newfoundland fishing community of Flatrock, the Pope condemned concentrations of economic power and said that key industries like food production could become "controlled by the profit motive of a few rather than by the needs of the many."

American liberals last week welcomed the bishops' statement. Said Alice Rivlin, former director of the Congressional Budget Office and director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution: "Their letter helps to restart a national debate on what this country is going to do about poverty." Concurred Felix Rohatyn, a partner of Wall Street's Lazard Frères: "Their ideas may not be politically fashionable, but that doesn't take away from the moral weight of their argument. The issues are still valid."

Conservatives, on the other hand, felt the draft had little to offer. While applauding the well-intended goals of the bishops, they said that many of the specific proposals were shopworn ideas that had failed in the very recent past or might prove counterproductive. Many economists, for example, believe that the U.S. would suffer a new inflationary surge if the Government tried to push unemployment down to 3%, as the bishops propose. "The bishops' letter is a resurrection of old policies that are no longer supported by those knowledgeable in economics," said Alan Greenspan, president of the Townsend-Greenspan economic consulting firm and chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Ford. Charles Murray, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, a conservative think tank, called the proposed pastoral "a restatement of the dogmas of the Great Society" and "a rehab of failed ideas." The bishops, wrote Columnist George Will, "hurl clichés at problems that have proven intractable in the face of strenuous efforts by persons of intelligence and dedication."

Among businessmen, the bishops' letter evoked mixed responses. "I came away with a feeling that these are well-meaning people who really don't understand our capitalistic system," said Admiral Elmo

Zumwalt Jr. (ret.), chairman of Milwaukee-based American Medical Buildings. But Roger Altman, managing director of Shearson Lehman/American Express and a self-described "serious Catholic," was sympathetic. Said he: "Our society has an obligation to the underprivileged, and the degree to which we haven't made progress in raising their living standards is enormously troubling." Observed Joseph Pichler, a Catholic who is president of Dillon Cos., a major grocery and retail store operator: "There's much to agree on in the document, particularly when they speak of the dignity of man and the dignity of work."



Michael Novak helped organize the opposition
Decrying the calls for Government action.

But their policy recommendations, I predict, are going to be widely ignored. They're bad economics."

The letter was greeted with a sigh of relief by White House officials, some of whom feared that the document might be polemically shrill. Spokesman Larry Speakes said that President Reagan "welcomed" the economics draft and shared "the bishops' concern for the poor." Speakes cited the fact that "more than 6 million people have gotten jobs in the last 22 months" as evidence of the success of the Administration's policies.

The nearly 300 bishops at last week's meeting roundly praised the letter. New York's Archbishop O'Connor said the draft would help "in stirring up a sense of personal and national emergency." Said Archbishop James Hickey of Washington, D.C.: "It challenges all ideologies." The document should have a smoother passage to adoption than the nuclear letter, if only because it appears to be closer to established Catholic social teaching. But it might gain wider acceptance, both inside and outside the church, if the bishops heed criticism that some of their economic prescriptions are outmoded. —By John Greenwald. Reported by James Castelli/Washington and J. Madeleine Nash/Chicago



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Provincetown-Boston planes on the ground last week at Barnstable Airport in Hyannis, Mass.

Clipped Wings

Safety lapses ground an airline

For savvy vacationers along the East Coast, the planes with the seagull symbol on their tails were the fastest way to the beach. Provincetown-Boston Airline has become the nation's largest commuter carrier by flying short hops from big cities to resort areas, including such popular runs as Miami to Key West and New York City to Martha's Vineyard. While a few travelers may have had jitters about some of the older planes in PBA's fleet, the airline has enjoyed stunning growth. In the first nine months of this year, the company posted profits of \$3.3 million, compared with \$2.3 million for all of 1983. Last week, though, all of PBA's planes sat idle on their tarmacs after the Federal Aviation Administration took the unusual step of revoking the airline's operating certificate.

The agency said that PBA was guilty of potentially dangerous cost-cutting practices. Among other violations, the FAA contended that the airline falsified safety records, failed to train its pilots properly, postponed aircraft inspections and allowed unqualified mechanics to maintain electrical gear. The emergency grounding gives credence to suspicions that were aroused in September by a tragic error. A propeller-driven PBA plane crash-landed and burned shortly after taking off from a Naples, Fla., airport: one passenger was killed and four others were injured. It was the first fatality in PBA's history. FAA investigators found that a member of PBA's ground crew had mistakenly filled the plane's tanks with kerosene jet fuel instead of aviation gasoline, which caused the engines to stall.

The FAA also revoked the pilot's license of Chairman John Van Arsdale Jr. He was charged with failing to land a plane promptly after it developed troubles in its hydraulic controls. Van Arsdale, who has resigned, was replaced by Edwin Putzell, a retired lawyer and PBA board

member. "I'm so shocked right now," Van Arsdale said. "I just can't believe it's happening. We had offered to cooperate with [the FAA] in any way they wanted."

This is the first major setback for PBA, which was founded in 1949 by Van Arsdale's father. He started out with flights in a four-seater plane from Boston to Provincetown, a resort community on the northern tip of Cape Cod. Three years later he opened up a Florida operation, based in Naples, to keep his planes busy during the winter. In 1980 Van Arsdale retired and turned over the successful company to his sons John, 40, and Peter, 36, who is currently president. The two siblings took off on an ambitious growth program that has expanded PBA's fleet from 59 planes in 1982 to its current 113. The aircraft vary widely in size, which allows PBA to roll out a larger plane when a flight is overflowing.

The FAA action put 1,500 employees out of work and left five small cities without any scheduled airline service. Many of those familiar with PBA expressed faith in the company. Said Isidore Eisner, manager of the New Bedford, Mass., Municipal Airport: "PBA has a proud and good reputation." Most PBA employees felt that the FAA action had been too drastic. Said Robin Hamilton, who sells charter flights for the airline: "I've never had one minute's hesitation jumping on one of our planes. This is the best job I ever had."

The FAA has recently grounded several small airlines for safety problems. Last year, under FAA pressure, Air Illinois suspended flights for six weeks. Four months after the airline started flying again, it was forced to file for bankruptcy. Whether PBA can survive depends on how quickly and convincingly it can make amends with Government officials. Last week the agency approved PBA's initial plan for bringing its operating procedures into line and allowed the airline to resume some flights. PBA's plan, though, requires the airline to retest its pilots and rewrite its training manual and may take weeks to accomplish. Meanwhile, PBA's competitors are already scooping up its customers. ■

Taken to Task

Regulators rap two big banks

The problems in the banking industry these days emerge one after another like the details in a messy scandal story. Money men have almost resigned themselves to new disclosures about bad loans and questionable practices at banks that were once considered above reproach. Last week came another surprise. Two of the ten biggest banks in the U.S., Bank of America and First Chicago, said that federal regulators had forced them to shore up their financial structure. Comptroller of the Currency C. Todd Conover ordered both institutions to increase their level of capital, which is the pool of money that belongs to a bank itself and its shareholders.

The action is part of a campaign by regulators to bolster big U.S. banks. They intend to ward off any possibility of a near catastrophe like last July's \$4.5 billion federal bailout of Continental Illinois. The Comptroller, a banking regulator connected with the Treasury Department, has already stepped up bank inspections from one per year to two or three.

At San Francisco's Bank of America, profits have been depressed for three straight years, partly because of farm and real estate loans that turned sour. During the first nine months of the year, the bank suffered \$628 million in loan losses, compared with \$431 million in all of 1983. Federal regulators want the institution to increase its capital by about 20% in order to create a larger reserve against uncollectible loans. This can be done by limiting dividend payments to shareholders or issuing additional stock. After the disciplinary action, Bank of America Chairman Leland Prussia admitted, "I guess you could say it was our turn." But, he added, "we have a very stable, solid institution."

The measures forced on First Chicago were much stronger than those on Bank of America. The Comptroller imposed a detailed plan for tightening up almost every aspect of the way the bank handles problem loans of \$10 million or more. In October the bank shocked the financial community by announcing a \$72 million third-quarter loss that stemmed from a write-off of \$278 million in bad loans. The new disclosure was an added loss of face for First Chicago's management. Said William Handel, director of financial-industry research at the consulting firm of Whittle & Hanks: "This is definitely going to hurt its reputation as Chicago's premier bank."

First Chicago admitted last week that the Securities and Exchange Commission is also investigating the bank's huge third-quarter loss. Among other things, the SEC is trying to determine whether the bank improperly put off declaring the bad loans in order to protect its profits. ■

Business Notes

SCANDALS

Busting a Banker

At one time Tennessee's Jacob Franklin ("Jake") Butcher hobbled with the likes of Jimmy Carter and Bert Lance, controlled 26 banks with his brother and had an estimated personal worth of \$400 million. But his fall has been as spectacular as his rise. In 1983 Butcher went broke, and ten of the banks were declared insolvent. Last week Butcher, 48, together with a longtime business associate and a lawyer,



Financier Butcher goes to court

was indicted by a federal grand jury in Knoxville, Tenn. The accusations stem from loans granted to Butcher and the others by banks he controlled. They are charged with illegally borrowing more than \$7 million to finance an Alabama mining company in which Butcher owned a 75% interest. Butcher and his associate are also accused of using forgery and fictitious names to borrow \$7.9 million for, among other things, a \$400,000 yacht for Butcher. After his court appearance, the onetime Democratic candidate for Governor of Tennessee and organizer of the 1982 Knoxville World's Fair asserted, "I am innocent." If convicted, Butcher faces fines of \$225,000 and up to 220 years in prison.

PACKAGING

Putting a Squeeze on the Tube



A pair of pumpkin

Toothpaste is the stuff of which family feuds are made. The problem is the packaging: some people think nothing of leaving the cap off or nonchalantly squeezing from the middle of the tube. But now U.S. makers of dentifrice think they can bring harmony to the bathroom sink with a packaging breakthrough: the pump, a hard plastic container that dispenses toothpaste with a flick of the thumb.

Minnetonka, the Minnesota firm that developed Softsoap, last May introduced the first pump toothpaste, Check-Up. Now Colgate-Palmolive is following with Colgate in a pump, and Lever Bros. has put out a pump version of Aim. Procter & Gamble started test-marketing a Crest pump in August. Packaging experts predict a tough battle over which brand's pump design is superior. Crest's model, for example, uses valves to extrude the paste, while Colgate's design has a piston mechanism. The new containers generally cost 20% more than tubes. Even so, the companies think they will have far more success than the last time they tried a radical departure from the tube. In the late 1950s an attempt to market toothpaste in aerosol cans was a bomb.

RECALLS

Words of Warning About an I.U.D.

AN IMPORTANT HEALTH WARNING TO WOMEN USING AN I.U.D., proclaim the austere but imposing ads currently appearing in newspapers and magazines. The \$4 million media blitz by the pharmaceutical maker A.H. Robins of Richmond represents one of the most extensive product-warning campaigns in history. The company is attempting to alert women in the U.S. who are

still using the Dalkon Shield intrauterine birth control device. Produced from 1970 to 1974, the I.U.D.s have been blamed for thousands of cases of severe pelvic infections, sterility and other maladies. By last week at least 400 women had followed the ad's advice by going to their doctors to have the shield removed, and 11,000 have called Robins for more information. The company has offered to pay the bill for removal of the I.U.D. or an exam to determine whether a woman is using a shield.

Robins earned profits of only \$500,000 on the 4.5 million Dalkon Shields sold worldwide. Nonetheless, that part of its business grew into a legal nightmare of some 10,000 personal-injury lawsuits. So far Robins and its insurance company, Aetna Life & Casualty, have settled about 7,600 of the cases at a cost of \$245 million. Last week the company reached an agreement on 198 suits for a reported \$38 million.

EXPOSITIONS

The New Orleans Fair Hangover

On the final day of the New Orleans World's Fair last week, 82,916 people thronged the exposition grounds, lining up to ride the monorail and partying in the German beer garden. Sadly, it was all too late. The fair, which was in financial trouble even before it opened in May, had filed for bankruptcy just five days earlier.

Though the fair was a big hit with Louisiana residents, it did not attract enough out-of-state visitors. The average daily attendance was only 36,866, about half the number needed to break even. The shortfall is being blamed on lukewarm press reviews, ill-conceived marketing efforts and expensive admission tickets (\$15 for adults).

The exposition leaves behind debts totaling at least \$100 million, including \$35 million owed to such creditors as suppliers and contractors. After the sale of assets, buildings and salvage, only a fraction of the debts is likely to be repaid. The financial scalding suffered in New Orleans, however, has not dampened the demand for still more fairs. Chicago organizers are hoping to mount a far larger one in 1992 with a prospective budget of \$1 billion.

CURRENCIES

Out for ha'penny, out for a pound

Even before the Norman conquest in 1066, Saxon tribes in England cut their silver pennies into two. The halfpenny (pronounced hay-penny) was first minted in 1279. It went on to become a symbol of penuriousness. In Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, Costard insults an acquaintance for his "halfpenny purse of wit." Now, because of inflation, the tiny (approximately 1/8-in.) coin costs more to make than its value of 6¢. Last week the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the halfpenny will not be recognized as legal tender after this year.

Extinction also awaits the pound note (current worth: \$1.25). First issued in 1797, it is being replaced by a thick metal-alloy coin. Like the Susan B. Anthony dollar in the U.S., the heavy coin has been unpopular. But since the useful life of a paper pound is ten months, vs. 40 years for the coin, the Royal Mint expects to save \$3.75 million a year. The British have already dubbed the new coin the Maggie, after Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, because it is hard, rough around the edges and, says one Member of Parliament, "pretends to be a sovereign."



Milestones

ENGAGED. Maxine Isaacs, 36, press secretary to Walter Mondale's presidential campaign; and James A. Johnson, 40, Mondale's reserved, cerebral campaign chairman: it will be the second marriage for both. The Mondales, vacationing in St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands, delightfully made the announcement last week.

HOSPITALIZED. Gary Coleman, 16, sassy 4-ft. 7-in. TV star who has branched out from his ongoing hit series, *Diff'rent Strokes*, to make TV and feature films (his latest, *Playing with Fire*, about a teen-age arsonist, is scheduled to air early next year); in fair condition and improving after a three-hour kidney transplant operation; in Los Angeles. It was Coleman's second transplant, replacing an eleven-year-old donated kidney that began to fail two years ago. He is expected to resume shooting his TV series in seven weeks.

DIED. John Devereaux (Jack) Wrather, 66, California conglomerator with an empire based on oil, real estate and TV and radio properties, who was a close friend of Ronald Reagan's and a member of the original "kitchen cabinet" of rich, conservative businessmen who encouraged Reagan to run for Governor of California in 1966 and later for President; of cancer, in Santa Monica, Calif.

DIED. Max Gissen, 75, chief TIME book reviewer from 1947 to 1961, whose careful, thoroughly informed judgments and skepticism of cant or inflated reputation helped build what Alistair Cooke called "the most influential book page in the country"; in Weston, Conn.

DIED. Martin Luther King Sr., 84, pastor of Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church from 1931 to 1975, father of the slain civil rights leader and winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace, and in his own right a pioneer in improving race relations; of a heart attack in Atlanta. A sharecropper's son, "Daddy King," as he was affectionately known, led several early local crusades for civil rights, including in 1936 an unprecedented—and dangerous—voting-rights march. During a life marked by personal tragedies, he lost, in addition to his namesake assassinated in 1968, another son by drowning in 1969 and his wife of 48 years, Alberta, shot by a crazed gunman in 1974. Yet he never gave way to hate or bitterness. "Nothing a man does," he said, "takes him lower than when he allows himself to fall so low as to hate anyone."

DIED. Eugenia Sheppard, 85ish, society and fashion columnist for more than 40 years, whose breezy style, almost prescient eye for trends and emphasis on the people who create and wear clothes revolutionized fashion reporting in the 1950s and '60s, when her column in the New York *Herald Tribune* and some 80 other papers made her a power in the design business; of cancer, in New York City.

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When Fae's mother came down with a cold, the infant received maternal comfort by phone

Baby Fae Loses Her Battle

The baboon heart fails, but a doctor defends the transplant

After 21 days of battling to preserve a fragile life, Dr. Leonard Bailey was visibly spent. His voice trembled and broke with emotion last Friday as he faced the press at Loma Linda University Medical Center in California to provide the epitaph for the dark-haired infant known as Baby Fae. "Today we grieve the loss of this patient's life," said the 41-year-old heart surgeon. That life, he insisted, had not been in vain. "Infants with heart disease yet to be born will some day soon have the opportunity to live, thanks to the courage of this infant and her parents. We are remarkably encouraged by what we have learned from Baby Fae." So ended an extraordinary experiment that had captured the attention of the world and made medical history. For three weeks the 5-lb. infant had survived with the heart of a baboon—more than two weeks longer than any previous recipient of an animal heart.

Her brief life was marked by more than its share of controversy. Doctors challenged the wisdom of using an animal heart when a human organ might have been preferable; animal lovers protested the sacrifice of a healthy monkey for what they saw as medical sensationalism; and others questioned the circumstances under which Fae's parents had consented to so drastic a procedure. Nonetheless, Fae's struggle for survival converted many skeptics and won the hearts of millions of people. Her progress and setbacks—virtually every beat of her simian heart—were avidly followed. Hundreds of Americans sent cards, flowers, even money to the infant as gestures of support and sympathy.

Though no one expected Fae's survival to be easy, her death last Thursday night came as a surprise. The child, who was born with a fatal defect called hypo-

plastic left heart, had received the heart of a seven-month-old female baboon on Oct. 26 and made steady progress for the next two weeks. In a touching videotape made just four days after surgery, Baby Fae was seen yawning and stretching, seemingly a normal infant in every respect. By the second week she was no longer dependent on a supplementary oxygen supply or intravenous feeding.

According to her doctors, problems did not arise until the 14th day after surgery, when a battery of tests revealed that the infant's body was beginning to reject the alien heart. Over the next five days, doctors increased her dosages of the anti-rejection drugs, supplemented her weakening heart with digitalis, eased the strain on her breathing with a respirator and resumed intravenous feeding. By Wednesday of last week Surgeon David Hinshaw told a packed auditorium of reporters at Loma Linda that "she is in the process of turning around. Signs of rejection are reversing right down the line. Baby Fae is holding her own."

As late as 7 p.m. Pacific time on Thursday, just two hours before she died, a hospital spokesman was reporting that the child was "hanging in there." In fact, Baby Fae was experiencing kidney failure. For several days, the child's urine output had been declining—an indication that the kidneys were not functioning properly. This put other organs in jeopardy and ultimately contributed to heart failure, Bailey explained at the press con-

ference. It was not clear if Fae's kidney problem was due to her drug regimen, the surgery or rejection, which can trigger the failure of a number of organs. Most likely, it was a combination of factors. Though doctors had discussed the possibility of a second transplant—either from a human donor or another baboon—the child's weakened condition made this impossible. At 10:30 p.m. the hospital released a tersely worded death announcement: despite "intensive efforts" to restore her heart, "Baby Fae died at 9 p.m. Her parents were with her as much as possible during this period and are receiving support from chaplains and the physicians."

In response to questions last week, Bailey said that Baby Fae suffered little pain in her final hours. "I believe she suffered a great deal more before I saw her than after," he insisted. "The best days of her short life were after her transplant." The parents, he maintained, had no regrets about the experiment: "They felt that it was an enriching experience."

Despite the hospital's efforts to protect the identity of the parents, information about the mother, Teresa, 23, began to seep out last week. Baby Fae's unmarried parents are an impoverished couple who moved from Kansas to Barstow, Calif., 90 miles northeast of Los Angeles, about two years ago. According to an NBC report, both parents had brushes with the law in their home state: the mother for passing bad checks, the father for disorderly conduct. Though the couple had lived together for five years and had a 2½-year-old son, the father deserted Teresa a week before the birth of Baby Fae. She then turned to a close friend, Henry Raedel, 28, who was with her when she entered Barstow's small hospital on Oct. 14. Less than three hours later Baby Fae was born. The child was three weeks premature and suffering from a seriously underdeveloped heart; her real name was said to be Stephanie Fae.

According to her hospital roommate, Teresa is a tall, thin, outgoing blond and a heavy smoker who worried about her daughter. The newborn was transferred to the Loma Linda medical center, a Seventh-day Adventist institution with an excellent reputation in pediatric cardiology. Doctors there explained to Teresa that the baby would probably die within a few days and that she could either leave her at the hospital or take her home. Raedel tearfully told the *Los Angeles Times* that after a sleepless vigil, "watching her to make sure she was breathing," they took the child home to die.

The hospital called Fae's mother within the next two days and, as Bailey



Exhausted Surgeon Bailey

explained, proposed the baboon heart transplant. A friend recalls that Teresa "decided she had to do anything possible to try and save her baby's life." Barstow residents who are close to the mother say that she was well aware of the experimental nature of the operation and was not pressured into agreeing to it.

Even so, many questions have been raised about the way in which consent was obtained. The hospital's refusal to release the text of the form signed by Fae's parents fueled the controversy. This document "is crucial," says Arthur Caplan, a medical ethicist at the Hastings Center in Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y. "Were the parents informed about the possibility of a human heart?" Others felt that Bailey may have misrepresented the facts about the "Norwood procedure," a surgical treatment recently developed to help infants with hypoplastic heart. Indeed, in his public statements, Bailey understated the success rate of this alternative.

The medical world will be reflecting on the case of Baby Fae for a long time. While a number of physicians considered the experiment premature, most were impressed and surprised by the infant's record-setting survival. "This has been a success," says Dr. Donald Hill, chief of cardiovascular surgery at Pacific Presbyterian Medical Center in San Francisco. "They have demonstrated that there is a window early in life where the opportunity to make a successful transplant from a baboon to a human exists." But neither Hill nor other doctors foresaw any possibility of using simian hearts as a permanent solution to heart disease. "I think these transplants might be used to bide time until a human heart can be found," says Dr. Michael DeBakey, the pioneering Houston heart transplant surgeon.

Such stopgap measures are desperately needed. "There is a tremendous shortage of donor organs for infants," says Dr. Thomas Starzl, a leading liver transplant surgeon at Pittsburgh's Children's Hospital. He estimates that eleven out of twelve of his infant patients who are now waiting for liver transplants will die before suitable donors can be found. Baby Fae has already had one salutary effect. According to Barbara Schulman, coordinator for the Regional Organ Procurement Agency at UCLA, over the past three weeks the number of prospective infant donors referred to the agency has soared.

Bailey and his team believe that the lessons of Baby Fae will pave the way for future baboon heart transplants, and he is convinced that the next time "we will be able to diagnose rejection earlier." The surgeon was vague about when the next time might be. "I plan to attempt it again by-and-by," he told reporters. Fae's mother, he noted, had encouraged his efforts. "The last thing she said to me was to carry on and not to let it be wasted." —By Claudia Wallis.

Reported by Jonathan Beut/Barstow and Dan Goodgame/Lorna Linda

Infamy Haunts a Top Award

A research prize is canceled because of a Nazi connection

The honor has been called the "Nobel Prize of liver research." Given every three years since 1970 by the Falk Foundation of Freiburg, West Germany, the Eppinger Prize carries an award of \$5,000, and among hepatologists (liver specialists), a generous measure of international prestige. But last spring, when Dr. Howard Spiro, 60, a Yale gastroenterologist, first heard of the Eppinger Prize, his reaction was one of horror. He clearly remembered reading about a pioneering Viennese liver specialist named Hans Eppinger who had planned vicious experiments on inmates of Nazi concentration camps. He recalled that the doctor had committed suicide when summoned to the Nuremberg war-crimes tribunal in 1946. Research showed that the award's namesake and the Nazi physician were the same man, and Spiro launched a protest to publicize the truth about Eppinger. Says he: "This is a matter I could not let rest."

Last week, in response to the international outrage stirred up by Spiro, the Falk Foundation announced that it would no longer award the Eppinger Prize. "We founded the prize to encourage research, not to elicit political controversy," declared Dr. Herbert Falk, 60, head of the foundation and president of Dr. Falk GmbH, a firm specializing in drugs to treat disorders of the gall bladder and liver. "I will do anything to counter the impression that I am promoting a Nazi war criminal." Falk's firm decided to create a hepatology prize in the late '60s. Says Falk: "I asked professors I knew whom we should name it after, and all of them said Eppinger." At the time, he admits, he knew that "Eppinger's ethical standards didn't measure up to what is demanded today." But, he says, he and his prize-committee members felt that Eppinger's accomplishments overshadowed questions about his past.

Spiro and a number of other observers find such justifications hard to accept. "Would they suggest that the world should forget the most criminal period in history?" asks Rabbi Marvin Hier, dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, which helped Spiro investigate the Viennese doctor's past.

Documents and testimony from the Nuremberg trials offer damning evidence. They show that Eppinger helped plan a series of human experiments conducted at Dachau in 1944. The research sought to find a way of making saltwater potable for pilots stranded at sea. In Eppinger's experiments, 44 gypsies were kept for up to a week on a diet consisting of seawater. Some were given seawater containing a chemical called berkatite, which digested the salty taste. Though earlier research had shown that berkatite treatment was dangerous and ineffective, Eppinger had apparently insisted that further tests were needed. Prisoners became severely dehydrated and delirious. According to one witness, they were so tortured by thirst that some sucked cleaning water from the floor.

At least one member of Falk's award committee was familiar with tales of Eppinger's past. Dr. Hans Popper, 80, former dean of the Mount Sinai School of Medicine in New York City and a pre-eminent hepatologist, was a student of Eppinger's in Vienna in the 1930s. Popper's feelings toward his former mentor are ambiguous. On one hand, he says, Eppinger was a "cold, unapproachable man" who, throughout his career, was "ruthless as far as human life was concerned." On the other hand, Popper, who is Jewish, feels he owes his life to Eppinger, who warned him to flee just hours before the Gestapo came to arrest him. Popper says that in 1970 he informed his colleagues on the prize-selection committee that Eppinger was "morally objectionable" but, he says, "they didn't pursue the issue." Popper has nonetheless occasionally presented the awards.

The fall of the Eppinger Prize came as a shock to past recipients of the award, a number of whom are Jewish. "If someone had told me that the award honored a man who had this past, I would not have accepted it," says former prizewinner Baruch Blumberg of Fox Chase Cancer Center in Philadelphia. But little was said about Eppinger, according to Blumberg, when he was awarded his prize in 1973. Apparently, even less was asked. —By Claudia Wallis. Reported by James Graff/Freiburg and Laura Lopez/New York



Eppinger: "ruthless"



Spiro: found the truth



Popper: warned committee

Press

Battling over a Paragraph

Ariel Sharon's libel suit against Time Inc. goes to trial

It was the second day of Federal Case 83 Civ. 4660, *Ariel Sharon vs. Time Inc.* The wood-paneled courtroom in lower Manhattan was crowded but hushed as the plaintiff took the stand. "My parents were people who fought for the truth that they believed," said Sharon, the former Defense Minister of Israel. "And defending the truth, defending your truth, your people's truth, that was also what brought me here, 6,000 miles away from home, to this American court." Earlier, Time Inc.'s lawyers had presented the case differently. Sharon's lawsuit, they argued, "is part

say that Sharon "reportedly discussed with the Gemayels the need for the Phalangists to take revenge" for Bashir's assassination, but added that "the details of the conversation are not known."

Sharon, who resigned his Defense post two days after the release of the report, says that he did meet with the Gemayel family. But he denies that they discussed revenge. He contends, moreover, that the secret appendix, which remains classified, does not say he talked about revenge with the Gemayels. Sharon insists that the TIME statements suggest that he encouraged or con-

known New York City law firms: Sharon by Shea & Gould, and Time Inc. by Cravath, Swaine & Moore. The former Defense Minister first filed suit in Israel shortly after the article appeared. In June 1983 Sharon sued in New York because he felt, according to his lawyers, that only a victory in U.S. courts would fully vindicate him. The two sides have thus far taken depositions from 27 people, including 13 TIME staff members. The Israeli government has refused on security grounds to allow Time Inc.'s attorneys to depose a number of army and intelligence officials.

As Sharon sat on a front bench, his wife Lili with him, Judge Sofaer began the trial by instructing the six-person jury on the legal definition of libel. Drawing upon U.S. Supreme Court rulings on what a public figure must show to prove "actual malice," Sofaer said Sharon's lawyers must demonstrate not only that the TIME paragraph was "false and defamatory" but that the magazine published it with "conscious awareness of falsity or with serious doubts as to the truth."

In his two-hour opening statement, Milton Gould, Sharon's attorney, reviewed Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon and defended Sharon's decision to allow the Phalangist militiamen to enter the camps on the ground that Palestine Liberation Organization terrorists were still hiding there. Gould said he would prove that TIME Jerusalem Correspondent David Halevy, who reported on Sharon's meeting with the Gemayels, had "contrived" the details and that the TIME staff had failed to verify the reporting. According to his deposition, Halevy had three primary but confidential sources for his report.

Thomas Barr, Time Inc.'s chief attorney, vigorously defended Halevy and the other staffers in a four-hour opening statement. Barr showed newspaper and magazine articles to support his claim that the Defense Minister had been severely criticized in the press before TIME's article was published. Barr also quoted warnings about the Phalangists' violent reputation, including Israeli Lieut. General Rafael Eitan's statement to the Israeli Cabinet before the massacre that the militiamen would enter the camps and "have just one thing left to do, and that is revenge." As for the proper interpretation of the disputed paragraph, Barr said he would leave it up to the jury to determine that "TIME didn't try to imply something it didn't say."

As the trial's first witness, Sharon described his upbringing and his rise through Israeli army ranks from private to general. Sharon also defended his respect for civilian lives throughout his military career. This week Sharon is expected to talk about the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the events surrounding the massacre. Then the cross-examination by Time Inc.'s attorneys will begin.

—By James Kelly.

Reported by Kenneth W. Banta/New York



Sharon, flanked by his wife, left, and a U.S. marshal, arrive at Manhattan's federal courthouse

At issue is the meaning of a paragraph and whether it constitutes libel.

of an attempt by a foreign politician to justify his conduct of war by his state and enhance his political reputation."

So began Sharon's \$50 million lawsuit against Time Inc. last week. Sharon has charged that TIME magazine libeled him in a February 1983 cover story about an official Israeli report on the 1982 massacre of some 700 Arabs in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps outside Beirut. The killings, which followed the assassination of Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel, were done by Christian Phalangist militiamen. The article extensively quoted the published report, which, among other things, found that then Defense Minister Sharon bore "indirect" responsibility for what had happened in the camps.

At the heart of Sharon's suit is a paragraph in the TIME story that described a condolence call that Sharon paid to the Gemayel family the day after Bashir's death. According to the passage, a classified appendix to the report contained information about the visit. TIME went on to

done the murders, and that the magazine has injured his political reputation and committed a "blood libel" against Israel. Sharon currently serves as his country's Minister of Industry and Trade.

Time Inc. argues that Sharon's interpretation of the paragraph distorts its intended meaning. It contends that the magazine's account of the meeting is correct, and did not damage Sharon's reputation. In a motion filed last month to dismiss the case, Time Inc.'s attorneys invoked the act of state doctrine, which holds that a U.S. court is not the proper place to debate the actions of a foreign government. They added that the refusal of the Israeli government to release key documents, including the disputed appendix, made a fair trial impossible. U.S. District Court Judge Abraham Sofaer denied Time Inc.'s motion. He ruled, however, that one of Sharon's claims, that TIME has a "vicious bias" against Jews or Israel, "is so unsubstantiated that no evidence will be allowed."

Both sides are represented by well-

Charging CBS

The general takes the stand

In a courtroom six floors below the one in which Ariel Sharon testified, another general last week took the stand in a \$120 million libel suit against CBS. Dressed in a crisp, gray suit and sporting a small red-and-white striped Viet Nam service ribbon, the ramrod-straight William Westmoreland, 70, former commander of U.S. forces in Viet Nam, recounted his 36 years of military service. Then he launched into a rebuttal of *The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception*, the 1982 CBS documentary that is at issue in the trial.

According to the broadcast, Westmoreland had engaged in "a conspiracy at the highest levels" of the military to "suppress and alter" intelligence data regarding enemy troop strength in the months before the January 1968 Tet offensive. Westmoreland, said CBS, omitted from the order of battle, the official estimate of enemy forces, some 100,000 self-defense, secret self-defense and political cadre. Westmoreland's suit challenges the CBS charge that in doing so he deceived President Lyndon Johnson and the Joint Chiefs of Staff about the growing military threat facing U.S. servicemen.

In his testimony last week, Westmoreland insisted that the nonuniformed forces in dispute were civilians, mainly old men, women and youths engaged in such home-guard activities as digging fortifications, laying mines and planting poisoned punji sticks as booby traps near their villages. They were not, he said, "fighters who could damage us, who we had to destroy." Westmoreland maintained that listing these irregulars as enemy troops could have sapped the spirit of U.S. soldiers. Said he: "It would be terribly detrimental to the morale of my troops to find out the enemy has increased."

In response to the charge that he had concealed crucial information from President Johnson and the Joint Chiefs, Westmoreland pointed out that he did not report directly to them; his "bosses" were Admiral Ulysses S. Grant Sharp, the commander of U.S. armed forces in the Pacific, and Ellsworth Bunker, the U.S. Ambassador to South Viet Nam. Moreover, Westmoreland said that on several occasions he had discussed with Admiral Sharp the disagreement among intelligence sources over the significance of the nonuniformed cadre.

As Westmoreland's testimony continues this week, the first major confrontation of the trial is scheduled to take place when he is cross-examined by CBS Lawyer David Boies. In coming weeks, Reporter Mike Wallace, the chief correspondent for the documentary, and other CBS journalists will testify. ■



Westmoreland

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Religion

Breaking Up the Men's Club

The Church of England moves toward obtaining women priests

It has only been for the past four decades that women were permitted to sing in parish choirs. So when the General Synod of the Church of England convened a historic session last week in Church House at Westminster Abbey, supporters of a motion to allow women priests had reason to worry. After all, a similar proposal had failed in 1978. Archbishop of York John Habgood, who favored the change, was calling it "deeply divisive." Another liberal, Bishop Hugh Montefiore, had prepared a half-a-loaf amendment to authorize a 20-year "experiment" with women priests that could thereafter be halted. Then, during the mannerly, 4½ hours of speeches, opposition was announced by the church's primate and leader of the world's 64 million Anglicans, Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie.

Runcie sympathized with those who felt "moral scandal" over the exclusion of women. He admired those of the 619 current female priests he had met in the Anglican branches that have ordained them. (The U.S. has 474; Canada, 97; New Zea-

land, 40; Hong Kong, 4; Uganda, 3; and Kenya, 1.) But, Runcie continued. Scripture and church tradition are "highly discouraging to the idea." Saying that he has "consistently driven down the middle of the road," he soothingly advocated "gradualism," with more experience of women as ordained deacons or lay ministers before any change is made.

None of that swayed Deaconess Diana McClatchey. "I wonder if you are really aware," said she, "that there is a struggle afoot to make it possible for a generation of young women to find a place for themselves in the Christian tradition." These women would be driven into underground churches meeting in homes or completely out of the faith, she argued, if the church "retains the atmosphere of an exclusive men's club on ladies' night."

Her supplication was heard. When the roll call finally came, the proposal passed with surprising ease in the required separate votes by the three houses of bishops, priests and laity. There was stillness, then a burst of loud applause from the floor, which was taken up by visitors in the gallery despite a rule requiring them to maintain strict silence. The celebration notwithstanding, it will be 1990 or

later before the first women priests can be ordained, and while that step is now likely, it is not a sure thing. Legislation to implement last week's decision must pass a majority of local dioceses and then survive the crucial test: win a second approval again by all three houses of the synod, this time by two-thirds majorities. Last week only 57% of the synod priests voted yes. The change in the state-established church must also pass both houses of Parliament, which "always take a

very reactionary line on ecclesiastical things because they don't really understand them," says Monica Furlong of the Movement for the Ordination of Women.



Runcie during synod debate

If you

On the other hand, the politicians will surely note that the National Opinion Poll shows 66% of weekly churchgoers in favor of the change, with higher approval among less active Anglicans.

Many Protestant denominations now admit women to the ministry. But the English decision to move in the same direction will have broad influence within the Anglican Communion, which has something of a patchwork priesthood. Some bishops refuse to recognize women ordained by others, and some branches, including England for the moment, do not allow the women to perform priestly duties when they enter as visitors.

Ecumenical complications also loom large, a fact that worries Archbishop Runcie. Since 1970, Anglicans and Roman Catholics have been discussing reunification, while for decades Anglicans and Orthodox churches have also discussed closer ties. But in 1975, the Vatican, forewarning the Anglicans in effect, declared that the all-male priesthood was "an unbroken tradition" that is "based on Christ's example" and "considered to conform to God's plan for his church." If those words allow any leeway, the Eastern Orthodox Church allows none, holding that priesthood for women is impossible. The result: while one long-sought liberal reform has moved forward, another liberal dream has almost certainly been set back. — *By Richard N. Ostling, Reported by James Shepherd/London*

Tidings

A PASTOR BEHIND BARS

Ever since its protesters disrupted Easter Sunday services in Pittsburgh's wealthiest Presbyterian church, Denominational Ministry Strategy has become the best-publicized clergy group in Pennsylvania. Made up largely of Lutherans and Episcopalians, DMS and its militant labor-union allies want to force the Mellon Bank and U.S. Steel to pump more money into the sagging local economy. Among its tactics: repeated harassment at worship services attended by executives and disruption of bank operations, notably by putting dead fish in safe-deposit boxes and skunk oil in ventilation ducts. Last week the noisome style of DMS culminated in the imprisonment of an activist minister.

In the dying steel-mill town of Clairton, 71 of the 135 members at Trinity Lutheran Church had complained about Pastor D. Douglas Roth's support of DMS to Bishop Kenneth May and the regional synod of the Lutheran Church in America. Eventually the members demanded Roth's dismissal. When the synod decided to oust Roth and he refused to obey, it won a court order early this month requiring that he leave. Instead, Roth, 33, barricaded himself in the church and preached his usual Sunday sermon, telling the congregation of 75, "It is a sin to destroy people's lives. Christ would never have

come out on the side of the corporations."

The Allegheny County sheriff, who hesitated at first to enter church premises forcibly, finally ordered Roth arrested near his altar last week. For disobeying the court order, Roth was given 90 days in prison and a \$1,200 fine. While Bishop May decides whether to defrock the clergyman, Roth vows to remain in jail until he is reinstated at the church and executives agree to negotiate with DMS. Considering the hard feelings that now exist, his sentence is likely to run out before there is any compromise.

A NEW TASK FOR TUTU

The South African Anglican Church had been looking for a new Bishop of Johannesburg to oversee its largest, mostly black, diocese, and the best-known candidate, obviously, was Bishop Desmond Tutu, winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize. But last month the diocesan electors deadlocked over Tutu's anti-apartheid militancy. As the debate flared, the national hierarchy intervened and, in secret session last week, twelve black and eleven white bishops chose Tutu. The bishop, who has led the activist South African Council of Churches since 1978, found a change of tasks entirely welcome. "The time is just right for me to leave the SACC. The world has given its verdict with the Nobel Prize," he observed, adding, "I am fundamentally a pastor. That is what God ordained me to." ■

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Sport



Changing the face of boxing: Holyfield turns the Brown Bomber's head

Planting Gold in the Garden

The great Olympic hopes break into the pros gently

Lately the best fights in boxing have been about whether to have boxing, but there will always be street corners. Muhammad Ali said that recently, so some of his wisdom is intact. Appreciating boxing is easy for those who do, explaining it to others will always be the problem. Fighting is as likely to fall to one of the medical associations that challenge it regularly as five Olympic heroes are to lose to five hand-picked opponents in a debutants' brawl at Madison Square Garden.

A sixth Olympian, just a silver medalist, was hired to warm up the deep chill of the Garden, though scarcely anyone had arrived last week before 171-lb. Virgil Hill dispatched Arthur Wright in the second round. Wright trained as hard as he could, from the moment the match was arranged the day before. Last summer two North Dakota towns, Williston and Grand Forks, threw parades for Hill. 20. Nobody is fighting over him now. "I'm training out of L.A., without a manager yet," he explained in a dim dressing room, though the comparative worth of gold and silver was plain to see. Just as Hill was saying, "My medal is priceless," that haunting Olympic bugle sounded out by the ring, announcing Junior Lightweight Meldrick Taylor.

Taylor's new gold trunks and shoes, smacked with tassels, gave contrast to the faded green trunks of Luke Lecce, the opponent. A part-time pro for four years, he is more properly a sales rep for 7-Up in Pittsburgh, a graduate of Duquesne, age 23. Taylor is just 18 but approves of higher education and has been accepted at Philadelphia's Temple University.

"I'm going to start with three courses, if I can handle it. Business administration," he said, a useful major. The four golden stars, plus one other celebrity practically as good as gold, will do seven-figure business the next two years, funded mostly by ABC-TV.

The third time that Lecce fell in the first round, to his knees, seemed a delayed response to a hard blow to the spirit. Lecce immediately announced his retirement. "This was going to be my last fight anyway," he said without regret, only a little embarrassed after the T.K.O. Commending Taylor, "a good technician."



Breland raises his hand for pay

Lecce confessed he had been unable to rouse any prefight bile. "Like everyone else I was very proud of these guys," he said softly, and by then the pipes were calling Evander Holyfield.

He is that stony light-heavyweight Georgian whose Olympic misfortune or fortune it was to ignore the referee's signal and flatten a New Zealander on the break. For knocking himself out, he was awarded the bronze medal. Still the broadcasters and promoters took Holyfield over a number of gold medalists, like Heavyweight Henry Tillman, who must have had a Garden seat somewhere, since all tickets were free. From a passageway he watched Holyfield step out against a hardheaded brooder with no choice but to be a fighter. Lionel Byarm has Joe Louis' face.

Ten years ago, Louis refereed a Joe Frazier-Jerry Quarry bout at the Garden, his last workday there, and seeing Byarm brought back the dull striped shirt he wore and the sad lost look of him. Holyfield punched past the bell twice—incredible—to rumbling boos. "I was in the groove of punches," he said later. "I didn't hear the bell." Byarm's lip was frayed, but the Brown Bomber had signed to do six rounds and did the six, winning one of them, maybe two. "I'll be back in the gym Monday," he said.

The best boxer in this Olympic crop is Parnell Whitaker, who pressed over 200 amateur fights into his 20 years, but is still a lightweight and still a southpaw. Glory could be as hard to find as opponents. Kindly the referee cautioned Farnain Comeaux's handlers to keep a towel handy for tossing into the ring. They asked if they might just wave it, and he said they could. They did. Then, before Headliner Mark Breland came out, poor Tyrrell Biggs, 23, went six well-noted rounds with a muscle-bound actor named Mike Evans, the Budweiser Light "champion" who tells the kid, "Hey, you'll get your chance."

Heavyweights must measure up to John L. Sullivan, and Biggs' flaws are that he has no charisma and cannot punch. But the state of the division must hearten him: it is the main reason boxing seems moribund again. When Dempsey went, he was taking boxing with him. Then Louis came along. Marciano. Ali. Sugar Ray Leonard made the welterweights the heavyweights, and this is slim Breland's slender hope too. The first opponent served up to him (from more than a half foot below) was better than the best Cuban he ever fought. "He looked at me like 'Hey, I'm from Brooklyn too,'" Breland said, sorry to be so wide-eyed about it but never seeing things quite so clearly before. "Breland looked good to me." Dwight Williams countered, "and I ain't nobody's chump. I'm still going some place, because I done fought the best in the world." Hey, they all get their chance.

—By Tom Callahan

People



All in a day's work: Nelligan dodging explosions, left; receiving first aid on set



It seemed a simple enough stunt, so simple that Actress **Kate Nelligan**, 33, was determined to run the explosive course herself. On location in Spain, the actress was playing the title role in *Eleni*, the film of Nicholas Gage's book about his Greek mother (she was executed in 1948 by Communist rebels who had occupied her village after World War II). In the scene simulating an artillery attack by government forces, Nelligan "decided to liven it up with some clever falls I devised for myself, including somersaults when the mines and bullets were near misses." By the time the sequence had been reshot 15 times, however, the repeated falls had left her with a swollen ankle and hip. The scene ended with a soldier stealing a loaf

of bread from Nelligan, who found herself nearly as worn out as her character might have been. "I was so bruised that every part of me hurt," says she. "They could have taken whatever they liked."

■
"It's like a cool shower after the heat of the marathon." That is how Comedian-Actress **Whoopi Goldberg**, 34, describes her Cinderella-like transformation from obscure performance artist to star of her own one-woman Broadway show. Like the drug addicts, Valley Girls, cripples and others she portrays, Goldberg is no stranger to life's vicissitudes. "I am my show," she explains. "The characters I play on the stage have been on a long trek of self-discovery." A native New Yorker, she performed in small theaters on both coasts before being Great-White-Wayed by **Mike Nichols**, who oversaw the new production. Goldberg's natural sense of humor did not find much to laugh at or learn from negative critics "who have assessed my work in New York. There is nothing in their works that can help me improve my performance."

■
"When special people ask me to do special things I do them," says **Veronica Ali**, 28, the third wife of former Heavyweight Champ **Muhammad Ali**. One of those special people is French Fashion Designer **André Courrèges**, whose clothes she agreed to model for the opening of his boutique in

New York City. In fact, she is getting asked to do more and more modeling and TV commercial work, including spots for Chrysler and Crystal Light diet drink. She is even taking acting lessons. Does her Black Muslim husband approve? "He knows I'm selective and he knows I'll make the right decision," says Ali, who adds that the current leader of the American Muslim Mission, **Iman W. Deen Muhammad**, "has given women a lot of freedom to go out and do things, not just stay at home. Now that the kids are no longer infants [they are six and seven], I have a lot of free time."

■
Men have long envied his ability to complete a pass, but even though the enduringly eli-

gible bachelor has finally been sacked, **Joe Namath**, 41, still managed to honeymoon in the fast lane. After their marriage in a private poolside ceremony in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., he and his new bride, Actress **Deborah Lynn Mays**, 22, were off to do a recruiting film for the University of Alabama and watch his alma mater lose again. Next week they will be in New York City, where Namath unveils his own line of underwear. Well actually, it was Namath who was unveiled to pose for the ads, but he won't repeat that show during his personal appearances. "In the locker room I don't mind standing around in my underwear," says Namath. "But it's a little different when you're in public."
—By **Guy D. Garcia**



Namath: brief honeymoon

On the Record

Bob Guccione, 53, *Penthouse* publisher: "I was very religious as a child. I even studied for the priesthood. But I soon overcame that."

Barber Conable, 62, retiring Republican U.S. Representative, on Congress: "We don't do anything unless there's a consensus out there that unless we do something, something very bad is going to happen."



Goldberg: serious laughter



All: fashion heavyweight

Music

Frankie Say We Go Big Bang

Pop culture is blitzed again by another British import

The formula is right on the album. It is all out front, easy enough to hear: grandiloquent dance songs with pastiche lyrics, bass lines tough as marching orders and electronic production so enveloping that listening to the music becomes an almost suffocating physical experience, like being buried up to the ears in singing sand. But for those with a more fanciful turn of mind, the folks bringing us Frankie Goes to Hollywood, the newest in an apparently seasonal series of pop apocalypses imported from England, have provided a graphic rendering of the formula right on the sleeve of their new album. *Welcome to the Pleasuredome*. Follow this, now: a couple of swimming zygotes, plus a single bullet, a heart and a cross, all multiplied by a shadow figure grabbing a star equals—well, BANG!

Further amplification is provided. "Lust plus fear plus love plus faith times Frankie equals some kind of bang." And, it might be added, a considerable amount of bucks. None of the heart-stopping chart figures chronicling Frankie's astounding homeland success are provided, perhaps because the stats are so widely known and already en route into the pantheon of pop trivia.

Consider: ZTT, the parent company of Frankie Goes to Hollywood, has sold almost 10 million pieces of FGTH vinyl. *Relax*, the first smash Frankie single, released just over a year ago, is now the fourth-best-selling record in British history, a lofty position that being banned by the BBC did much to ensure. *Two Tribes*, the follow-up to *Relax*, was a scornful antiwar song that sailed straight to No. 1 in the first week of its release. Frankie has now sold more records more quickly than any other group since the Beatles. "We're the image of England 1984," says Holly Johnson, 24, Frankie's vocalist. Others see something a little different. Wrote Rock Commentator Simon Frith, after watching tourists in London buy up countless knockoffs of the band's FRANKIE SAY T shirts: "I decided this was the final triumph of the 'new pop,' the eclipse of content by form."

The eclipse can now be seen from North America, as the band launches its first tour any time, anywhere. Frankie has yet to make a deep dent in the U.S. charts, they are still more of a curiosity Stateside than a genuine phenomenon, which raises

the question of why they did not start to concertize on home turf. Catching the group live may provide an answer. They need the studio, with all its electronics and synthesized sleight of hand; they need the invention of Producer Trevor Horn, his ability to sandwich them like lunched meat between thick layers of sound. They got famous before they got good.

The three musicians in the crowd are Bass Player Mark O'Toole, Drummer Peter ("Ped") Gill, both 20, and Lead Guitarist Brian ("Nasher") Nash, 21. Johnson, who is front man as well as vocalist, comes



Frankie Goes to Hollywood, all dressed up and ready to relax. Says the singer: "We're the image of England 1984."

on as the archetypal Brit pop poofter, waving a salmon-colored silk scarf as he wafts his way through Springsteen's *Born to Run*. Boomed a member of the rehearsal audience at Frankie's *Saturday Night Live* appearance two weeks ago: "Bruce is better!"

And different, Lord knows, even though, little more than a year ago, Frankie was a Liverpool band living the kind of hard-knocks working-class life Springsteen sings about so often. "I was drawing £23.50 on the dole," Johnson recalls. "I'd been on it for five years. No jobs around, y'know." It says something about the disparate nature of contemporary rock culture in England and America that, while Springsteen has achieved his greatest popular success staying close, spiritually and thematically, to the working class, Frankie Goes to Hollywood has

hit big by escaping into giddy fantasy. "We're as political as boys in the street could be," insists Paul Rutherford, 24, who bangs a tambourine and cavorts in some semblance of choreography while Johnson sings. They came from one of the most disenfranchised cities in Mrs. Thatcher's England and hit big at a time of bitterly divisive labor strife, but the band's response to this is to salve everything under a coating of helpless hedonism. *Relax*.

Two Tribes is being promoted with a deft, rabble-raising video: two actors impersonating Ronald Reagan and Konstantin Chernenko meet in a pit and have a geriatric brawl, slugging, biting and kneeling each other until the audience around them erupts and the world blows apart. The suspicion remains that this is less politics than posture, the kind of invention that is a specialty of Rock Critic Paul Morley, a former *New Musical Express* gadfly who creates Frankie's image the way Trevor Horn sculpts their music. Morley, who likes to sport a T shirt announcing PROPAGANDA WILL GIVE YOU THE TRUTH, may playfully refer to himself as a "semiotician," but he revels in the show-biz bunkum of Barnum, Ziegfeld and Colonel Tom Parker. He seems to operate from one bedrock truth: hip is the ultimate con. "I condemned [manipulation] when it was done badly," he told the *London Times*. "Great manipulation I adore."

It was Morley's notion to co-opt the earnest, sloganeering T shirts of Designer Katharine Hamnett and make them over into a campaign of bulletins from the band: FRANKIE SAY RELAX FRANKIE SAY ARM THE UNEMPLOYED. The band is also backing off its raunchy, rough-trade image for some-

thing almost genteel. Decked out in *haute* funk and aiming to please, the boys will finish their American tour in Los Angeles in two weeks, then fly back home, where *Welcome to the Pleasuredome* racked up a record advance sale of 1.1 million albums before its release three weeks ago.

They are discussing a British tour and now, for public consumption, minimizing all the fuss. "We've sold a lot of records, more than anyone," says Rutherford. "That's it, that's all there is to understand. People like us, they understand us, they want us. What more can you ask?" Frankie says that's it. But a rip-off Frankie T shirt says it better than Frankie say Rip off say WHO GIVES A F--- WHAT FRANKIE SAY? And what Frankie say to that? A moment of silence please. —By Jay Cocks. *Reported by Adam Zagorin/New York, with other bureaus*

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Books



Street scene in old Constantinople: near the birth canals of civilization

In the Land of Far Beyond

JOURNEY TO KARS by Philip Glazebrook; 246 pages; Atheneum; \$12.95

Before beginning a slow lap around Turkey, before numberless encounters with melons, rugs, mustaches and ruins, Philip Glazebrook asks his big question: "What was the impulse which drove middle-class Victorians to leave the country they loved so chauvinistically, and the company of the race they considered God's last word in breeding, to travel in discomfort, danger, illness, filth and misery among Asiatics whose morals and habits they despised?"

His answer, skillfully shuttled through the narrative of his own journey, is that the adventurers of yore were misfits. The squaring of these pegs, he suggests, began in school with tales of bold Westerners challenging sinister enchanters in the East. The heroes of antiquity, the knights-errant and the pathfinders of empire, symbolized virtues that quickened young hearts. But mercantile Britain offered few opportunities for a romantic. "Where was the use of valor and a knowledge of Xenophon and all the rest of the accoutrements?" Glazebrook inquires. "He had put on knight's armor to play croquet in."

The author, a novelist when closer to home (*The Eye of the Beholder*, *Byzantine Honeymoon*), suits up in defunctive irony for a different game: to produce a travel book with the confident style of the 19th century and the elegiac soul of a modern spiritual nomad. Glazebrook's reflections on the past are a form of detachment as real as the thousands of miles between him and his family in Dorset. Writing about other travel writers distances him from his own encounters on the trail. By ranking subjectivity above literal facts, he finally removes himself to that lonely height where the artist, not the soldier-adventurer, is hero. "Writing the book,"

he thinks before catching the train home. "That was the real journey."

Wisely, Glazebrook keeps this sort of modernist baggage to a minimum. He knows what readers want from a travel book, and he does not disappoint them. His route, from the Aegean coast to the borders of Iran and the Soviet Union, stretches like an ancient welt on which history and legend are tightly knotted. This has a sumptuous effect on his prose: "We were surging through bright water off the promontory of Knidos, to which Praxiteles' Venus once drew all travelers ... Here were the ramparts

Excerpt

“ If you want to look with interest and contentment into a bay for any length of time, it is better that it doesn't have a whale in it. Now, it occurred to me that the freakish landscape of Cappadocia illustrated the same truth. What you need of such a weird spectacle is one good view of it, and this I had ... The uneasy moonscape stretched away on every hand, and, below me, clinging to the roots of the fortified pinnacle of rock I stood upon, were the ruinous mud huts of the old village, their terraces heaped with melons yellow and green. Fantastical that landscape is, the tufa towers riddled with painted churches, like the sandcastles of giants' children, and I was amazed by it; but amazement is pretty soon exhausted. ”

of Asia crumbling into a sapphire sea.”

Through dusty villages and neglected cities called Urgup and Erzurum, Glazebrook finally arrives at Kars in the "Land of Far Beyond." Near by, Noah's ark went aground on Mount Ararat, and the Eden of Islamic myth bloomed. Persian, Turk and Russian battled over Kars for centuries. More prosaically, we learn that, except for Norway, Turkey is the only NATO country to border the U.S.S.R.

The mountain passages of this part of the world were like the bloody birth canals of civilization. Today Glazebrook finds mostly shards and indifferent descendants. Like V.S. Naipaul, the best of contemporary novelist-travel writers, he takes a melancholy view of lands that are past their primes. In the city of Konya he discovers a universal shabbiness imposed by the use of concrete. "The Asiatics' love of bright colors, too, is betrayed by the plastic paint they slap on everywhere, which flakes and peels as the colors of their native fabrics and tiles never did." A few passages border on old-fashioned disrespectful wog-whomping, though some of the author's deepest disdain is reserved for the scraggly, underwashed Western students who can be found everywhere: "They were hot and smelly, and seemed to be sitting on top of me, sticking bits of themselves into me in a way Asiatics don't."

The experience of hardship and inconvenience is largely the point of *Journey to Kars*. Travel is defined as an accumulation of instances of self-sufficiency. Being dumped into a remote town, at night and reservationless, is a challenge to be savored; cashing a traveler's check in Trabzon takes two banks an entire morning and involves the police. Months on the road lead to some choice distinctions ("It isn't the badness of bad hotels which is distressing, it's the badness of 'good' hotels"). There are also useful tips:

On eating: "If you wait and watch, you find that the kind of food you like exists in a slightly different form in most cuisines. ... Until that time comes, far better to be hungry than sick."

On itinerary: "For peace of mind, I need to have taken steps to settle all questions in view! ... Once I know how to leave, I am free."

On authoritarian governments: "A repressive regime suits the traveler better than the anarchy which preceded it, so long as his documents are in order."

On getting to know a place: "You have to drum a town into your head with your feet. You have to walk till you're lost."

On wandering alone: "I probably prefer to travel with my chimeras, and leave the baby behind. Someone said once that traveling with your family was like waltzing with your aunt."

Journey to Kars takes many risky directions. It is to be hoped that Glazebrook's next book is not titled *R.Z. Can't Go Home Again*. —By R.Z. Sheppard

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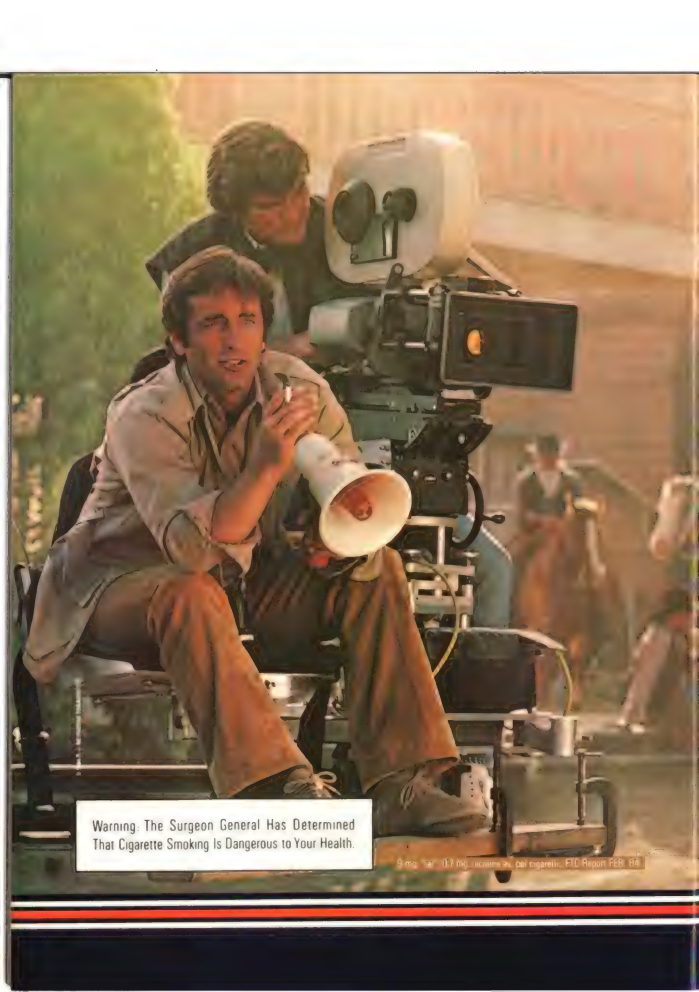
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102

Books

In Competence

WHY THINGS GO WRONG

by Dr. Laurence J. Peter
Morrow: 207 pages; \$12.95

Peter Prin'ciple: people tend to be promoted till they reach a level beyond their competence [from the title of a book by Laurence J. Peter (b. 1919), Canadian educator].



Laurence J. Peter

—The Random House College Dictionary

In this caustic sequel, Peter lives off the principle he invented. But this time the author is not merely against the Organization, he pits himself against organization itself. His omnium-gathurum of anecdotes, historical footnotes and autobiography has little structure and no main thesis. Instead, Peter fills his book with 24 corollaries of the principle, plus a few odd insights: "The higher you go the deeper you get." "All useful work is done by those who have not yet reached their level of incompetence." "There is a tendency for the person in the most powerful hierarchical position to spend all of his or her time performing trivial tasks." "What happens is not only stranger than we imagine, it is stranger than we can imagine."

To illustrate his last point, Peter offers a sheaf of historical examples, ranging from the failure of the Edsel to the follies of Watergate. Some of his most piquant entries come from the lawbooks of regions where statute makers have risen beyond their level of competence. In Danville, Pa., "fire hydrants must be checked one hour before all fires." A San Francisco ordinance forbids the reuse of confetti. In Seattle it is illegal to carry a concealed weapon of more than 6 ft. in length. An Oklahoma law states that a driver of "any vehicle involved in an accident resulting in death . . . shall immediately stop . . . and give his name and address to the person struck." The village of Lakefield, Ont., passed noise-abatement legislation permitting birds to sing for 30 minutes during the day and 15 minutes at night.

Peter, who believes that communicators rise until they bump their heads on the ceiling, is also a connoisseur of the elevated double-entendre: in headlines (KEY WITNESS TAKES FIFTH IN LIQUOR PROBE), signs (WANTED: MAN TO WASH DISHES AND TWO WAITRESSES), and news stories ("Women compromise more than a third of Britain's work force"; "His face was a striking one and even without his clothes, people would have turned to look at him").

Show business yields some splendid instances of managerial miasma. Producer Darryl F. Zanuck predicted, "Video

won't be able to hold on to any market it captures after the first six months. People will soon get tired of staring at a plywood box every night." When Alfred Hitchcock admitted that he saw very few movies, a studio executive demanded: "Then where do you get your ideas?" But the most revealing anecdotes concern what Groucho Marx called a contradiction in terms: military intelligence. As illustration, Peter holds aloft Air Force Major General Charles Kuyk's statement that he was pleased with the C-5A cargo plane, even though "having the wings fall off at 8,000 hours is a problem." Matters scarcely improve across the ocean. Soviet strategists once trained dogs, in Pavlovian tradition, to associate food with the bottoms of tanks. The animals were to run under the attacking machines with bombs strapped to their backs. Reports the author: "The unexpected turn of events was that the dogs associated food only with Russian tanks," which "were forced to retreat as the bomb-bearing dogs ran toward them."

No one is immune to Peter's corollaries, not even their lexicographer. "It was never my intention," he states, "to decry the sins, mistakes, vanities and incompetence of my fellow human beings. I am at least as guilty as they." The proof lies in his vain attempts to back a California education center: "I realized I had reached my level of incompetence as a fund raiser when all my requests from government agencies and private foundations were rejected." Undismayed, Peter obeyed his own dictum: "Quit while you're behind." One year later he funded the school with royalties from *The Peter Principle*. Manifestly, this is a man worth following. Just make sure to get off one stop before he does.

—By Stefan Kanfer

Notable

IDA TARBELL: PORTRAIT OF
A MUCKRAKER

by Kathleen Brady
Seaview/Putnam; 286 pages; \$17.95

It was Theodore Roosevelt who gave investigative journalists the title of muckrakers, but it was Ida Tarbell who perfected the technique. Her father, a minor Pennsylvania oil driller, was nearly ruined by John D. Rockefeller. Twenty years later she settled the score with her scathing 1904 *History of the Standard Oil Company*, which described some of the robber baron's sharper practices and led eventually to the dismantling of his empire. But as Kathleen Brady, a TIME reporter-researcher, points out in a graceful new biography, the scourge of Big Business was not always bent on vengeance. Most of



Ida Tarbell



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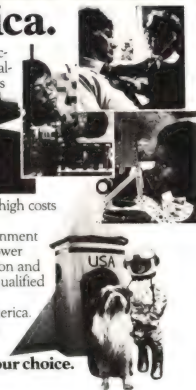
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Books

the time she was a stiff-backed, old-fashioned antisuffragist who easily alternated between exposés of the Beef Trust and fawning profiles of historical heroes (Napoleon, Abraham Lincoln) and even corporate chieftains (U.S. Steel's Elbert Gary, General Electric's Owen Young). With Tarbell-like thoroughness, Brady describes a defiantly single woman wasting her talent on hasty magazine articles and much of her life in platonic friendships with adoring male colleagues. Until her death in 1944 at 86, Tarbell suffered persistent feelings of inadequacy. "She was called to achievement in a day when women were called only to exist," Brady concludes. "Her triumph was that she succeeded. Her tragedy was never to know it." Happily for journalism, and for generations of employees and customers of the industries that she and her successors helped reform, Ida Tarbell never let her doubts get in the way of her facts. ■

KATE QUINTON'S DAYS

by Susan Sheehan

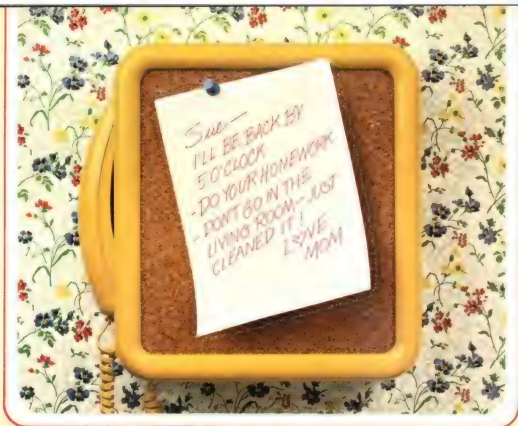
Houghton Mifflin; 158 pages; \$15.95

Kate Quinton is 80, and has lived most of her life as a sturdy, hard-working, house-proud member of the lower middle class in Brooklyn. Crippled by arthritis and suffering from several other ailments, she is about to be packed off to a nursing home, a dread prison from which 75% of those who enter never emerge. *Kate Quinton's Days*, first published in *The New Yorker*, is the true story of the efforts, made largely by Claire, her partially disabled daughter, and some dedicated social workers, to help Kate come home. The return could not have occurred without an enlightened program for home care of the elderly, still in the experimental stage. But it is the human story that makes this account so affecting. Susan Sheehan uses a painstaking documentary style based on what must have been exhaustive interviews.

To maintain their independence, Kate and Claire must cope with a parade of day-care workers. It begins with Mercedes Robbins, who arrives in designer jeans and high heels, and extends through fire-breathing fundamentalists, people who show up late or fall asleep after they arrive until finally a friendly, energetic Trinidadian nurse takes over and becomes the book's unlikely heroine. For a story of two isolated women, Sheehan's canvas is crowded with lively figures, including Claire's callous sister and a diabolical city administrator. The author's prose is as prosy and readable as Trollope's, and she has written a lion-hearted little book. ■



Susan Sheehan



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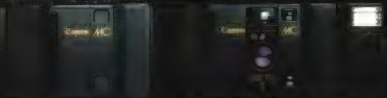


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Cinema

Girl of Steel vs. Man of Iron

Two new movies offer the fantasy figures of tomorrow

A cement-jawed superhero does battle against an evil imperial foe and uses wit, grit and brute force to win the day and make people feel good about their country. This fantasy of an all-righteous America fills movie theaters even as it fuels presidential elections. Who is Indiana Jones if not the movie-serial avatar of White House Reagan, leaping up from near fatal assaults with a wave and a joke? Who is Superman if not the Krypton Gipper, fighting for truth, justice and voluntary school prayer? At the end of a campaign year that played like one long half-time pageant, two entertaining movies arrive with a complementary pair of star figures for the next generation. *Supergirl*: the girl next door as feminist champion. *The Terminator*: a killing machine from the year 2029 and rotten to the cybernetic core.

Supergirl is Kara (Helen Slater), Superman's younger cousin and a fellow émigré from Krypton, who grows up in Midvale, U.S.A., as Linda Lee. In her preppie uniform she is an ordinary schoolgirl, but put her in red cape and tights and she is revealed as California Girl, apotheosis of the workout ethic. Kara must save the world from the malefic Selena (Faye Dunaway), high priestess of Endor and part-time palmist. In this task, Supergirl is aided by her Krypton father Zaltar (Peter O'Toole), who, as in every other Freudian fable from *Oedipus Rex* to *Star Wars*, must die before his offspring can reach maturity, self-knowledge and power.

Cynics will call this a B-team *Superman*. Screenwriter David Odell and Director Jeannot Szwarc concentrate on strong, simple pleasures: Slater's easy grace and uncomplicated beauty; the bravura of (Obi-Wan) O'Toole, shameless and affecting as he just about tears a planet to tatters; and a hilarious wicked-witch turn by the delicious Dunaway. The climactic confrontation, in which man's fate is decided by two women, could elicit thrills of laughter from a Saturday-matinee benefit performance for NOW.

The mood of *Supergirl* seems almost

pastoral compared with that of *The Terminator*. This picture barrels with swank relentlessness through a giddily complicated premise and into an Armageddon face-off between another New Woman and a Man of Iron. The man (Arnold Schwarzenegger) is really a machine: sturdier than a tall building, able to break supporting players in his bare hands, shooting middle-aged ladies on sight, speaking whole sentences only when absolutely necessary.

He has taken a trip back through time to try to reverse the history of the 21st century. Seems a man named John Connor is destined to lead the survivors of a nuclear war to victory over the evil machines—if his mother Sarah (Linda Hamilton), a lonely Los Angeles waitress here in 1984, lives long enough to give birth. So the Terminator is out to perform a "retroactive abortion"; and another time traveler, Kyle Reese (Michael Biehn), has followed him to save John's prospective mother and terminate the Terminator. Thus begins the deadly game of hide-and-seek, search-and-destroy.

On one level, *The Terminator* is a hip retelling of the Annunciation: Sarah is a blissed-out Virgin Mary, John is her divine son, and Reese the messenger angel sent to impregnate Sarah with the holy word. But there is plenty of tech-not-savvy to keep infidels and action fans satisfied. The violence is copious, clean and discreet. Director James Cameron (who wrote the script with Producer Gale Anne Hurd) has a superefficient editing style that uses slow motion, pixilation and infra-red optics to make this the smartest looking L.A. nighttown movie since *The Driver*.

As for Schwarzenegger, he nicely fleshes out the convention of a soulless gun for hire. With his choppy hair, cryptic shades and state-of-the-'80s leather ensemble, he looks like the Incredible Hulk gone punk. Some day he and Supergirl should get together in a winner-take-all hybrid sequel. These two could make beautiful music together—say, *America the Beautiful* rendered in teeny-bopper heavy metal.

—By Richard Corliss



Super Slater



Sinister Schwarzenegger



Slow train to bathos: Streep and De Niro

Commuter Nerds

FALLING IN LOVE

Directed by Ulu Grosbard

Screenplay by Michael Cristofer

Moral criticism of adultery having become unfashionable, we must make do with the inconvenience of the thing as the last barrier against total sexual anarchy. If the experience of Frank Rafius (Robert De Niro) and Molly Gilmore (Meryl Streep) is typical, the difficulty of arranging a discreet tryst remains a powerful weapon on the side of the angels. Indeed, *Falling in Love* shows an extramarital affair to be the neutron bomb of interpersonal relations, capable of wiping out all intelligent life, leaving only the bare generic conventions of romantic fiction standing stark against the sky.

The pair seem to spend most of the picture either searching for each other through crowded trains (they ride the same commuter line into New York City) or waiting around the station or on street corners. The suspense, for the viewer, is not exactly killing. Neither is the wit of the dialogue that Writer Michael Cristofer has concocted for the lovers on the rare occasions when they meet. It generally consists of inarticulate expressions of desire and feeble excuses for not consummating it. In this they may be wise, since neither of their spouses is presented as anything but good-natured and rather more patient with Frank and Molly's preoccupations than any audience is likely to be.

De Niro's performance consists mostly of doleful looks. Streep's of brushing back her hair and giving two vigorous nods whenever she tells a lie, and that says it all about Ulu Grosbard's lugubrious direction. The name of the picture being knocked off here is *Brief Encounter*, not *Closely Watched Trains*, but of course, what we are dealing with here is not moviemaking but star packaging. Next time they should remember the gift wrap.

—By Richard Schickel

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Essay

At the Sound of the Beep . . .

The telephone shattered distance: it is part of nature now. The Atlantic Ocean does not intervene between one's lips in New York City and the ear of a friend in Paris.

The telephone answering machine subverts time: one leaves a surrogate self back in a little box at home, frozen in time, waiting to be roused by a ring: "Hello," one says, disembodied. "This is Carl. I'm sorry I can't come to the phone now, but . . ."

It is not Carl, of course. It is a fragment of Carl, deputized with a brief memory. It is a crystal of Carl, like one in the ice palace of Superman's heritage from Krypton. Carl, at that moment in any case, is elsewhere. Carl has proliferated a little. His flagship self is steaming across town on some business, plowing along through conventional time. His ancillary self, his butler self, the ghost in the machine, is waiting in its little timelessness.

So the Stepford Carl, once activated, will speak. And then the caller will speak, and the caller's words will likewise be frozen in time, and both of those small ancillary selves will lie side by side for a little while in their other dimension. Words can be chilled down like human seed and thus suspended in time until they are ready to come to life.

Answering machines can be very funny. They have their protocols and social comedies. Does one play one's messages when one has just come home with a guest? What intimacies and embarrassments will come flying out of the machine before one leaps for the stop button? "Gee, I wonder who *that* could have been."

The machines can also be a little spooky, metaphysically spooky. There was a tale about the archipelago called Nova Zembla, which was discovered in the 16th century, high in the Arctic Circle. A ship's crew was stranded there, frozen in. The air was so cold, the story said, that when the sailors spoke, their words crystallized in mid-air and remained there. Presently a thaw arrived, and all the words, warmed up, came cascading down in a tremendous, unintelligible din. The owner of an answering machine knows that there may come a moment when the machine, for all its customary obedience, will disgorge, in a weird, surreal monologue, all the messages accumulated over months and months: disjointed voices, greetings and arguments and appointments long dead. And then one might hear a voice one does not recognize: a sort of gypsy creak, a voodoo voice, heavily accented and far away: "Please call . . . Eeet eees verrrry imporrntant!" A cold gust goes through the room.

Usually, the machines are more banal than that. They do still make people uncomfortable, although that is passing with familiarity. Their use has become so widespread that callers no longer feel quite so much the instant of stage fright. Still, the tape on the end of the line, expectantly unreeling, silent as a director awaiting the audition, does intimidate. The caller feels ambushed, like one who has suddenly learned he is being bugged. He becomes more . . . responsible for his words. They are not going to vanish into air. They can be replayed again and again, like the videotape of a fumble. The machine subtly puts the caller on the defensive, thus reversing the usual telephone psychology, in which the caller is the aggressor, breaking in upon another's silence.

Answering machines are handsome instruments of privacy. They have solved the greatest disadvantage of the telephone: the mere ring does not announce the identity of the caller. In picking

up the receiver, one must sometimes pay the penalty for satisfying one's curiosity. But the answering machine has solved that. The little butler in the box answers. The caller must declare himself, and the aristocrat in the armchair can then decide whether he will condescend to pick up the phone. In the world of Henry James, the butler announced at the door, "not at home," meaning "not at home to visitors." One placed one's calling card in a silver tray held in the butler's left palm. The answering machine electronically duplicates the ritual. This maddens callers, who suspect that exactly such a game is going on. "Come on, Carl, pick it up, you jerk. I know you're there!" Pause. Long sigh of irritated resignation. Defeated mumble. "Yeah, well, call me later . . ."

There once was a story at Harvard about a visiting professor who did not have the time to appear at a weekly seminar and so placed a tape recorder and the recorded text of his lecture in the middle of the seminar table. The students could come each week and play the tape and take notes. One day the professor stopped by the seminar room to see how the class was progressing. No one was there. In the middle of the table, he saw his large tape recorder unreeling his lecture. All around the table, before all the chairs, he saw little tape recorders taking it in. An intellectual antworld: the big surrogate instructing the little surrogates.

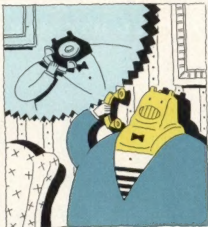
Many telephone callers still refuse to converse with the machine. They hang up. That makes the machine owners nervous. So they turn their messages into jokes or performances, minidramas. The most baleful byproduct of answering machines is these awful stitk. The caller bears madrigals playing in the background, romantic Muzak or cutely chosen rock songs. One endures impressions of Bogart and Cagney and Nixon: "And I promise not to erase the tape. Huh, huh, huh." The humorist Jean Kerr had friends whose message was a jingle: "We shall not sleep, we shall not slumber/ unless you leave/ your name and number." Anonymous callers left the only appropriate rejoinder: "Burma Shave."

Across the way from comic impersonation is self-abnegation, strict anonymity: the machine answers not with a name but a hard, bleak number—"You have reached 887-5443 . . ." The self is abstracted, washed blank like a bureaucrat. Inspector 324. Either way, the self has a way of skittering off a little. It does not like to be recorded, just as Muslims once did not like to be photographed.

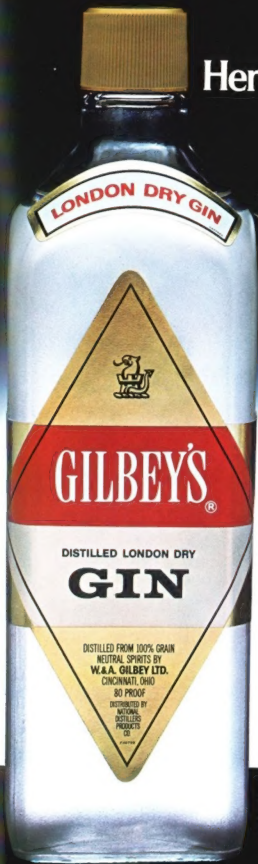
It might be an entertainment of the Mel Brooks kind to wonder what sort of messages certain historical figures might have left on their machines in the past 2,000 years. The examples one thinks of run toward the grotesque—monsters being *gemütlich*. Nero's message would be of his awful, override lyrics, with strummings. Hitler's, a little Wagner, perhaps, in the background (something from *Tristan*) and a creamy, lover-boy's voice: "Hello, this is Adolf. I'm not free to talk now, but . . ."

The machines can park words outside time. But there are situations in which that won't do. The Governor calls at one minute to midnight. Ring. Click. "Hello, this is Warden Parker. I'm attending an execution at the moment, but if you'll leave your . . ." Or the President of the U.S. gets on the hot line and reaches the Kremlin's answering machine: ". . . So please just leave your message at the sound of the boom."

—By Lance Morrow



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